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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 286



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ERRATUM: In JPRS 80211, 2 March 1982 No 275, of this series article CRITICISM OF LEFTIST VIEWS OF HUANG GANG, p 61 line 16 of text, sentence "Huang Gang was the editor-in-chief under the name Yao Ershi" should read "The editor-in-chief was Huang Gang, who was known as 'Yao Wenyuan The Second.'"

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROPOSED 'NORDIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE' DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 5-7

[Article by You Dianshu [3266 3013 2579] and Song Mingjaing [1345 2494 3068]:
"The Tricky and Evasive Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] At the beginning of this year when the wind of pacifism was spreading over various North and West European countries, a subject which had been left out in the cold for many years--the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone--was again put forward. Significantly, while the subject was still under discussion, on 10 October a Soviet submarine violated the territorial waters of Sweden, creating a stir in this discussion. It is entirely proper and understandable that people are opposed to nuclear arms and nuclear warfare, with their desire to set up a nuclear-free zone. However, what deserves attention is that as soon as this proposal was put forward, the Soviet Union immediately took it over and expressed its very great interest and strong concern. There is something else behind all this. Since NATO made its decision to deploy new intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe, the Soviet Union has tried by all means to stand in the way with a view to developing its own nuclear superiority. At present, it is making special efforts to utilize the pacifist trend of thinking and war scare in Europe, and is trying to undermine NATO's plans from within. Thus, the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone is just a wedge which it can use to disintegrate the Western alliance from within.

Origin

The so-called "Nordic nuclear-free zone" is a proposal which Khrushchev originally put forward in 1959, and it was immediately rejected at that time by the Western countries. Later, in 1963, after the West had a preliminary informal discussion on the establishment of a multilateral nuclear force,*

*The "multilateral nuclear force" was suggested by U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister MacMillan at the end of 1962 at a meeting held in Nassau. Its concrete plan was first to combine the nuclear bombers or nuclear submarines of the United States, Britain and France under the command of NATO Supreme Command. At a later stage, the NATO countries would purchase "Polaris" missiles or nuclear submarines from the United States to form the so-called "Multilateral nuclear force," to be "of multilateral possession and under multilateral control." However, the right of final decision and veto would be held in the hands of the President of the United States.

President Kekkonen of Finland once again suggested the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the four North European countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. This proposal did not meet with the agreement of the other three countries, and it was later set aside.

As a matter of fact, none of the four North European countries has nuclear weapons. The meaning of the so-called "establishment" of a nuclear-free zone is to define this nuclear-free state in the form of treaty (or in legal form)--that is, at present and in the future, all countries in this zone would pledge not to produce or import nuclear weapons, and the nuclear powers would pledge not to use nuclear weapons in this zone.

However, as it is called the "Nordic nuclear-free zone," people may ask: Does it include the part of Soviet territory in the same northern region of Europe, such as the Kola Peninsula? When Norway and Denmark, as members of NATO, are incorporated into such a nuclear-free zone, are their pledges to NATO still valid, and how will NATO's defense be affected? Why does the Soviet Union show so much interest in such a nuclear-free zone and yet exclude itself from this zone?

Regarding these three questions, people are quite suspicious of the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone." Therefore, this proposal has been left out in the cold consistently.

At the beginning of this year, the then ruling party of Norway--the Norwegian Labor Party--reiterated the proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone, bringing up a matter of the past and drawing wide attention. In the past the Norwegian Labor Party always opposed the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone." Norway is also an important NATO member country, being situated at the tip of NATO's northern wing. For this reason, as soon as this proposal was put forward, it immediately met with the opposition of the United States, Britain and West Germany, and these principal countries of the West one after another asked Norway to clarify the matter. Inside Norway, the party not in power also accused the Labor government of changing Norway's tradition of foreign policy. Within the Labor Party, some people also charged that it was forced upon the people by certain persons in charge of foreign policy. In any case, the fact that the leaders of the Norwegian Labor Party raised this question revealed certain changes in the defense policy of that party. Some commentaries in the West held that it had something to do with the pacifist trend of thinking spreading in Europe.

In 1979 NATO decided on the deployment, beginning in 1983, of new types of medium-range missiles to modernize the nuclear theater weapons. Many people in the Western countries expressed their support; however, there are also a considerable number of people who are afraid of the gradual escalation of the nuclear arms race, which would increase the risk of nuclear warfare, so they voiced their opposition. Some people cherish the illusion of exchanging unilateral disarmament for Soviet concessions. Some Western newspapers and periodicals point out that these people believe in the principle that "nuclear-free means nuclear safety." There are also a considerable number of people who are against the deployment of new types of missiles in Europe, and are even

against the United States keeping stockpiles of conventional heavy weapons in Norway. They are also against Norway accepting American nuclear protection. In October 1980, after the opposition faction within the Norwegian Labor Party put forward a plan to establish a "Nordic nuclear-free zone" including Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, the party leadership formally put the statement that "Norway will strive for a Nordic nuclear-free zone" in the party's February draft program that year, in order to maintain unity within the party, to win votes, and to placate and hold back the opposition faction.

Bait

After Norway made this proposal, Brezhnev immediately made a speech on 26 June 1981 to express his positive support for the establishment of the Nordic nuclear-free zone, and claimed "to be prepared to conclude multilateral or bilateral agreements with participating countries."

What deserves attention is that this time the proposal is different from the Nordic nuclear-free zone frequently advocated by the Soviet Union in the past; it has a new addition--that is, the claim that it "does not exclude the possibility to discuss certain other measures applicable to our own country's territories adjacent to the Nordic nuclear-free zone." These terms, deliberately mystifying, for a while aroused speculation in the Western countries. Some people thought optimistically that possibly the Soviet Union might dismantle some tactical nuclear weapons on the Kola Peninsula. Therefore, the Swedish Government in September sent a delegation to visit Moscow and make inquiries; however, it was greatly disappointed. The Soviet Union refused to make further explanation. As a matter of fact, even if the Soviet Union would really move back a few tactical nuclear weapons, as far as Northern Europe is concerned, it would not make much difference.

Evidently, Brezhnev's new remarks were in reality only bait to lure the North European countries. Though Norway and Denmark, both NATO member countries, do not permit NATO to deploy nuclear weapons in their territories in peacetime; they reserve the right of option to introduce nuclear weapons for security protection in case the danger of war occurs. The Soviet Union is luring them to participate in a nuclear-free zone, which means asking them to give up this right. As a Finnish newspaper pointed out, it means asking them to give up "the policy of keeping themselves in line with NATO." It also means first the disarming of NATO's northern wing, and then the weakening and disintegration of NATO.

This proposal of Brezhnev's is a component part of the "peaceful offensive" launched by the 26th CPSU Congress. One of the important objectives of this "peaceful offensive" is to break up relations between the United States and Europe, to prevent NATO from strengthening its defenses, and in the first place, to prevent implementation of the plan to modernize the European theater nuclear weapons. The new Soviet proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone" is intended to whip up and utilize pacifist thinking in Europe, and to attain the aforementioned objective with support from within Europe. A Finnish newspaper immediately recognized the ulterior motive and pointed out that "with the continued development of neutralist thinking in Europe, the Soviet Union carefully and cautiously took the opportunity to put forward its proposal."

Differences

At present, the issue of a Nordic nuclear-free zone still remains in the stage of discussion. Among the North European countries, there are still very divergent views on what type of nuclear-free zone should be established. At the Northern European Council held in March this year and at the Conference of Northern European Foreign Ministers held in September, there was no outcome of all the discussions. The focus of dispute was over whether this nuclear-free zone should include the Soviet-governed Kola Peninsula and the Baltic region. To this key question, the North European countries have essentially three answers:

The first answer is not to include them. At the time Finland proposed a Nordic nuclear-free zone, it did not include Soviet territory. Finland still holds this view. Very few people in other countries hold this view.

The second answer is that it should include them. Most people think that the Soviet Union is the only country which possesses nuclear weapons in this region and thus constitutes a threat to Northern Europe. Therefore, if the Soviet Union is excluded from the "Nordic nuclear-free zone," there is no sense in setting up such a zone. To exchange the unilateral establishment of a nuclear-free zone for an empty promise of the Soviet Union "not to use nuclear weapons against Northern Europe" is even more hopelessly stupid. Some people, including the Swedish Government, explicitly hold this view. Certain official quarters in Norway and Denmark were equivocal at first; later, following questioning by the political parties not in power, and as the principal Western countries, including the United States, Britain and West Germany, strongly opposed the proposal for a "Nordic nuclear-free zone," while explaining the official policy they made an additional statement including this part of Soviet territory. It is quite natural for most people in Northern Europe to demand the inclusion of the Kola Peninsula in the nuclear-free zone. At the same time, this may possibly mean "checkmating" the Soviet Union, which is clamoring for a nuclear-free zone. As is known, Murmansk in the Kola Peninsula is the world's largest nuclear arsenal; it is the base for 70 percent of the Soviet nuclear submarines equipped with intercontinental missiles and also for more than 30 submarines equipped with tactical nuclear missiles. Deployed in its surroundings are also SS-4 and SS-5 missiles (reportedly they will soon be replaced by SS-20's) and more than 20 Backfire bombers. Therefore, as a matter of fact, people have long anticipated that the Soviet Union would refuse to include the Kola Peninsula in the nuclear-free zone.

The third answer is to use the "Nordic nuclear-free zone" as "part of the effort to strive for a larger nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe." This is the view of people in power in the governments of North European countries. This wording does not answer directly the question of whether to include the Kola Peninsula and the Baltic Sea. As regards the meaning of "the effort to strive for a larger nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe," there are also different interpretations. Former Norwegian Prime Minister Nordli said: "We won't play the role alone. The solution of atomic weapons can be achieved only through extensive European unity." Former Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs Frydenlund said: "It is necessary first to

consult with our allies." Incumbent Prime Minister Brundtland said that all negotiations must be carried out within the scope of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In fact, in the serious situation of nuclear confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, it is sheer nonsense to talk about the question of a nuclear-free zone within the confines of Europe. The statements made by the Nordic leaders on this issue may be considered as a pretext which can be used, on the one hand, to show to NATO that they won't break away from the West as a whole and will maintain the unity of the West, and on the other hand to express their "desire" for negotiation. So, first, they can deal with the Soviet Union; second, they can show certain independence with regard to the United States; and third, they can reduce the pressure from the pacifist campaign.

After a period of debate, people have seen more clearly the intentions of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, with the opposition of the allies, particularly the United States, Britain and West Germany, Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland pledged that any action Norway takes on the issue of a nuclear-free zone will be in line with its commitments to NATO.

On 15 September, the result of Norway's general election was announced. The Labor government was replaced by a government headed by the Conservative Party. All members of the new ruling party are against the Nordic nuclear-free zone. After they assume power, how they will actually deal with this issue still remains to be seen. However, no matter which of the abovementioned three answers they adopt, at present they still have real difficulty in carrying it out. Most likely the question of the "Nordic nuclear-free zone" will undergo further protracted discussion.

9039

CSO: 4005/546

PARTY AND STATE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTY, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Liang Fen [2733 0433] and Wang King [3769 5429]: "The Party Is the Leading Force of People's Democracy -- A Discussion on the Relationship Between the Party and People's Democracy"]

[Text] The "Resolution" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee points out: "The goal of our party's struggle in the new historical period is to gradually build our country into a socialist power with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology, and advanced democracy and advanced civilization." The party leadership is closely connected to people's democracy, i.e., socialist democracy. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, giving scope to people's democracy has already become a gargantuan historical trend in the development of the entire socialist cause. This is the wish of the masses of people and also a result of the party's leadership.

After the 10 years of internal disturbance during the "cultural revolution," people have profoundly sensed the great significance and formidable nature of the development and perfection of our people's democratic system; hence, their concern about, and various discussions on, questions of democracy have also become more and more pronounced and frequent. This is a good thing. But we should also see that not all the people have come to understand clearly what kind of democracy we need, and how to develop and perfect it. Some people think that when we stress democracy, it can only be the stuff the West has, being unable to distinguish clearly what is socialist democracy and what is capitalist democracy. There are also some people who think that our democratic cause is like that of the West in that it does not require party leadership, and that the less control, the more democracy. There are even people who think that stressing democracy today means to "demand democracy" from the party. Although these people are in the minority, the tendency to deviate from party leadership as reflected by them in varying degrees is very harmful. This tendency is not only of no benefit to the healthy development of people's democracy, but may also sometimes be utilized by those who crave nothing short of nationwide chaos and thereby turn it into a factor of instability in our socialist politics. Precisely because of this, as we proceed to exert ourselves in developing and perfecting our people's democratic system, it is

necessary to further make clear ideologically and theoretically the relationship between people's democracy and party leadership.

Today there is this prevailing view: as long as people are permitted to express their views freely and the principle of the minority obeying the majority is put into practice, that is socialist democracy. This view is rather paradoxical, as it actually replaces democratic substance with general principles of democratic form. Without doubt, socialist democracy needs to guarantee the people's freedom of expression (not the freedom of expression of all people) and it needs to carry out the organizational principle of the minority obeying the majority; but these by no means explain the substance of democracy, nor do they provide correct answers as to what is the essence of socialist democracy and the necessary, fundamental conditions for realizing and developing this kind of democracy.

In his book "The State and the Revolution," Lenin said: "Democracy and the principle of the minority obeying the majority are not the same thing. Democracy is none other than the state which acknowledges the minority obeying the majority." In this case, the concept of democracy, its most essential, most important meaning, suggests a kind of state system; what it stresses is the form of the state, namely, which class occupies the ruling position in a regime, and the policies of which class does it implement. Only by grasping this essence can we distinguish the democracies of different classes. When we discuss the minority obeying the majority in the abstract, as a general principle of democratic form, the bourgeoisie and its political parties can also accept and adopt it. For instance, in a bourgeois assembly, they can activate a voting apparatus based on the minority obeying the majority and practice universal suffrage which is subject to various actual restrictions under economic and political conditions ruled by capital, etc. But once the minority obeying the majority becomes a concept of the state which not only generally acknowledges the need to practice the principle of the minority obeying the majority but also requires a clear determination to have the minority of exploiters obey the rule of the overwhelming majority of the people and to handle affairs of state in accordance with the interests and will of the overwhelming majority, then no exploitative class, including the bourgeoisie and its political parties, would accept it. Socialist democracy is the socialist system of the state: it is the power of the people to control the state on the basis of their commonly shared enjoyment of various forms of ownership and control authority with respect to the means of production. In order to establish and consolidate such a state system of the democracy of the overwhelming majority, we can never just depend on spontaneous action, free expression, and a simple vote based on the minority obeying the majority on the part of the masses; instead, we must have a class that can really embody and realize the interests and will of the overwhelming majority in a concentrated manner and the leadership of its vanguard so as to achieve this. Consequently, if we are not lingering on abstract forms but are discussing the democracy of the majority in terms of substance, discussing how to realize and give scope to socialist democracy, then we are broaching the question of party leadership.

Lenin once succinctly analyzed the question of how to realize socialist democracy. He said: "In order to enable the majority to really make decisions on

state affairs, there must be definite practical conditions. We must firmly establish a state system and state power that provide the possibility of deciding on questions according to the will of the majority and that can guarantee to turn this possibility into reality. This is one aspect. In another aspect, we must enable this majority to harmoniously and effectively manage state affairs together in terms of its class elements, that is, in terms of its internal (and external) interrelationship between the various classes. Any Marxist knows that, on the question of the majority of the people and on the question of managing state affairs according to the will of this majority, these two practical conditions play a decisive role" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 25, pp 188-189). It is inconceivable to have these two fundamental conditions apart from the party's leadership. Concerning the first condition, without Communist Party leadership it is impossible to overthrow the rule of the landlord and bourgeois classes and establish the state system and state power of people's democracy; this point has long been irrefutably proven. As for the second condition, just as Lenin said, we must have a leading force that correctly handles the relationship between the various classes and that enables the majority of the people "to harmoniously and effectively manage state affairs together," and that which can serve as this leading force is also limited to the proletariat and its vanguard--the Communist Party. Because among the people, on the basis of the consistency of their fundamental interests, there still exist various economic entities with different interests, there still exist political and social, complex contradictions of a nonantagonistic interclass nature; only under the leadership of the proletariat, which really represents the interests of all the people, and its political party can the majority of the people correctly and effectively harmonize and dispose the various political and social contradictions; only thus can the majority of the people avoid remaining an actually loose or even dissipated majority in form and become a real majority that is conscious of where its own fundamental interests lie, that unites itself and proceeds to realize socialist democracy with unified will and action.

At the central work conference in December last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The core of the four principles is adherence to party leadership. I have said many times that, without Communist Party leadership, such a big country as China is bound to fall apart and accomplish nothing." This statement is entirely consistent with Lenin's thinking mentioned above, and also entirely in accord with the actual situation in our country. Today, the exploitative classes have been basically eliminated; class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction of our society; but there still exists class struggle. Although this class struggle, internally, is of a remnant form, it will still exist for a fairly long time; although the overall trend of class struggle is a gradual tapering-off, occasional development under given conditions still cannot be ruled out. Meanwhile, class differences among the people also cannot be eliminated within a short period; the narrow vision and habitual forces of the small producers and domestic and external bourgeois ideas and remnant feudal ideas still exert not a little influence among the people; various political and social contradictions still exist among the people. In such an environment of numerous complicated social contradictions, how can the majority of the masses be organized? How can the interests, demands and wishes of the overwhelming majority be harmonized, concentrated,

and guided toward a unified socialist direction, and enabled to formulate correct policies accordingly? How can these correct policies be assured of strict and effective implementation in the various departments and localities? What is needed here is a force that can exert firm leadership over the majority of the people; this leading force can only be the Communist Party. Because the Communist Party is the only advanced political party of the advanced class of modern society; it is made up of advanced elements of the proletariat; it enjoys Marxist guidance; it is well versed in the objective laws of social development; apart from seeking the interests of the broadest ranks of the people, it has no selfish interests of its own; it is organized according to the principles of democratic centralism, and it abides by strict organizational discipline. It is precisely because of these characteristics on the part of the party that it is able to guide the masses of the people to perceive their own fundamental interests and to organize themselves in order to struggle for their own political rights and economic interests: that it is able to embody and realize the will of the overwhelming majority of the country, to formulate policies that reflect the fundamental interests and long-range interests of the majority and appropriately handle the relationship between their immediate interests and their long-range interests; that it is able to guarantee, through the party's propaganda work, organizational work and the vanguard and model rules of all party members, the implementation of these principles and policies. Therefore, when we treat the question of the people being masters in their own house, we must not merely look at the form but also at the substance; we must see whether our state power can represent the interests of the people and how it can represent the interests of the people.

Of course, we must take note, on the other hand, that, when we say the party is the leading force of people's democracy, we mean to say that the party should support the people becoming the masters in their own house and not take their place in managing the state, or monopolize all administrative affairs, or still less stand on the heads of the masses of the people and become the rulers of the masses of the people. People's democracy is the essential requirement of the socialist system. "Without practicing full democracy, socialist cannot triumph" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 22, p 138). If socialist has only public ownership of the means of production and does not insure the development of economic construction along the socialist direction, then it cannot guarantee that the fruits of economic development are going to be enjoyed by all the people. Hence, the "Resolution" points out: "Gradually building a highly democratic socialist political system is one of the fundamental tasks of the socialist revolution." Therefore, we must adhere to party leadership on the one hand and improve party leadership, gradually reform the party and state leadership system, and guarantee the development and perfection of people's democracy on the other hand.

To sum up, without party leadership, it is also impossible to establish people's democracy and to develop and perfect people's democracy; on the contrary, if the party fails to support the people becoming masters in their own house and fails to lead the people to realize and develop people's democracy, the party will also be unable to preserve its character as the vanguard of the proletariat. This is the dialectics on the democratic question.

9255

CSO: 4005/593

PARTY AND STATE

ELIMINATION OF 'LEFTIST' INFLUENCES URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 82 p 1

[Report by Li Shusheng [2621 3932], Jiang Qingquan [5592 3237 3123], and Xu Chunlin [1776 2504 2651]: "Leading Cadres Must First Eliminate 'Leftist' Influences--Hengshui Regional Party Committee Covenes General Meeting of Party Members and Cadres; Li Tie Sums Up Five Lessons in Behalf of Regional Party Committee"]

[Text] The recent activities meeting convened by the Hengshui regional party committee indicates that only by first following the spirit of "stressing truth, not face," launching criticism and self-criticism, and thoroughly eliminating "leftist" influences in oneself can leading cadres gain the initiative in restoring order from disorder and bringing policies to fruition.

Recently, the Hengshui regional party committee convened an activities meeting for 5 consecutive days, passed conscientious criticism and self-criticism; and, using the "Resolution" as its weapon, while thoroughly negating the "Cultural Revolution," it at the same time also took an important step in eliminating its own "leftist" mistakes. Members of the standing committee of this committee generally felt at the meeting that, while under the influence of the "theory of always being correct" on the part of the former principal, responsible person of the provincial party committee, they had exhibited blindness and lacked self-consciousness in respect to their own political and ideological state, and taken the suffering of persecution during the "Cultural Revolution" as a burden. Members of the standing committee of the regional party committee were all subject to the impact of the "left" during the "Cultural Revolution": they have all conducted the so-called "examinations." But by those "examinations" it was meant merely the use of the "leftist" things to criticize correct things; thus they added many "leftist" elements to themselves. After they stepped forward to take on jobs, most comrades implemented "leftist" things to various degrees; they even persecuted people with the "leftist" things. Members of the standing committee of the regional party committee sensed that the spiritual state of "feeling proud as soon as suffering or persecution is mentioned, grumbling as soon as persecution of others is mentioned" is by no means justifiable. They should eliminate the "leftist" mistakes and influences in themselves since the "Cultural Revolution," and sweep away the ideological obstacles in the way of policy implementation and leading-group readjustment.

On 6 January, the Hengshui CCP Committee convened the general meeting of party members and cadres that was attended by more than 1,600 persons from the organs directly under its jurisdiction; Li Tie [2621 6993], first secretary of the regional party committee, conducted self-criticism on behalf of the regional party committee and found 5 lessons on why the committee was subjected to "leftist" influences and committed "leftist" mistakes. One is that, among the "leftist" ranks, it did not recognize what was "leftist;" it only belatedly made an ideological turn. Even before the "Cultural Revolution," it was already ideologically subject to "leftist" influences. The "Cultural Revolution" criticized correct things of the past, accepted many erroneous things; but it did not destroy the old and establish the new and, on the contrary, it destroyed the orthodox as "leftist" and made it possible for "leftist" thinking to develop further and further; after resuming its tasks anew, the guiding ideology remained "leftist." With respect to the "leftist" things of the former principal responsible person of the provincial party committee, they were accepted quite smoothly and properly and also implemented actively; this made it impossible not to make "leftist" mistakes. A second is that, when implementing directives from above, it failed to proceed from actualities; it exhibited blindness especially in the question of differentiating the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought from Chairman Mao's mistakes in his late years; the "two whatevers" tightly constrained its thinking. Thus, some ordinarily preventable mistakes were not prevented, some ordinarily avoidable losses were not avoided. While it sensed something wrong sometimes about certain things issued from above, but because of the failure of seeking truth from facts, plus the effect of the word "selfishness," it was unable to proceed with resistance against such mistaken things; the idea of "the book first, the superior level first" was very serious. A third is a lack of the one-dividing-into-two approach to things, to people, and to oneself and the partiality in one's thinking. More was seen of achievements, but little was seen of problems. During the "Cultural Revolution," it actually made many mistakes but for a long time it simply dismissed them as not much of a problem. The "leftist" things being implemented were partially emphasized as having been arranged by those above, thus taking its own responsibility lightly. A fourth is insufficient investigation, separation from actualities, and separation from the masses. Too little was known about conditions below; too little was understood about opinions of the masses; various different views could not be ascertained, nor was there an inclination to listen to various different views. This made it impossible to carry out any comparison or scrutinization in order to make one's own correct judgement, and also impossible to avoid making mistakes. And a fifth is insufficient study, especially insufficient in making a connection through such study with one's own ideological actualities and working actualities and thereby summing up experiences and lessons, and also insufficient in launching criticism and self-criticism.

Comrade Li Tie asked comrades attending the meeting to make as many suggestions as possible in order to help the regional party committee sum up its lessons so as to thoroughly negate the "Cultural Revolution," thoroughly eliminate the "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology of the regional party committee, further do a good job in an ideological restoring of order from disorder, accelerate policy implementation and leading-group readjustment, rectify the party's steps, and build well our material civilization and spiritual civilization.

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRITUAL, MATERIAL CIVILIZATIONS DEEMED EQUALLY IMPORTANT

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Conscientiously Carry Out the Glorious Task of Building the Two Civilizations"]

[Text] "The plan of a year depends upon the spring." In this season of spring warmth and opening blossoms, the municipal committee has convened the second meeting of its fourth (enlarged) plenary session to look back over the work of the previous year, and to discuss and arrange the work of the new year. Their meeting has already been satisfactorily concluded.

The conference determined that the general requirement for work in our city this year will be to implement the program of "seizing with both hand;" one hand will take charge of the building of material civilization; the other will take charge of the building of spiritual civilization. We must achieve the "two improvements"; we must improve our economic benefits and our work efficiency. We must [also] make an effort to strive for the "three improvements". That is, we must strive for a decided improvement in party practices, in the security of society, and in prevailing habits in society. In making arrangements for our work, we must get a good grasp of the "four points of emphasis," which are: along with continuing with our economic readjustment, we must take charge of bringing about a comprehensive reorganization of the work of enterprises, rural communes and brigades, and organizations; we must take charge of bringing about further reforms, and in particular we must have new breakthroughs in our economic activities directed at foreign countries; we must take charge of planning, legislation, and strict management for civic construction; and we must get a good hold on ideological political work, conscientiously rectify attitudes of laxity and weakness among our leadership and rouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad masses of cadres and the masses. In every item of our work, we must make a great effort to strive to realize these general requirements.

"Seizing with both hands" is the correct guiding ideology for arranging the whole of our work. Once we depart from the center and focal point of socialist economic construction, we will have departed from the party's correct line, and it will not be possible for us to do a good job of building socialist spiritual civilization. On the other hand, if we do not get a good hold on the building of socialist spiritual civilization, it will also not be possible

for us to maintain the socialist direction of our economic construction, and it will not be possible to guarantee a protracted development for economic construction. The policy of "seizing with both hands" is precisely the manifestation of the dialectical relationship between these two approaches, and is an objective law that has been proven again and again during the more than 30 years of historical experience of our state.

Regarding the building of socialist material civilization, the municipal committee brought up five areas of work that we should emphasize and get a good hold on. The core question in these five areas of work is that we must do anything we can to heighten economic benefits in each of the areas of production, construction and distribution. Heightening economic benefits is a necessary requirement of economic work. Engaging in economic work without stressing economic benefits is like stressing the plowing without being concerned about the harvest. Our experience in economic construction since the founding of our state has proven that whenever we took care to heighten economic benefits, our work has been on firm ground, construction could proceed steadily, and the people's standard of living was somewhat improved; and whenever we overlooked economic benefits, our work floundered, and even though the speed of the construction seemed to be quite fast, nevertheless there was a disparity in our economic results, and the people's standard of living rose rather slowly. Since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, we have rectified "leftist" errors in our economic work, and with respect to being extremely attentive about heightening economic benefits, we have already made great accomplishments. However, in every item of actual work, that phenomenon of looking only at appearance and not demanding actual results still exists; in the course of putting into effect all styles of systems of economic responsibility, some units have a tendency to stress only a certain quota and ignore the other quotas, even to the extent that it has a negative effect on the situation regarding economic benefits. These circumstances are worthy of our serious attention. For this reason, we must definitely, in every item of our economic work, be fastidious about quality, and place importance on economy. We must speed up the development of the production of consumer goods, continue to adjust the service direction of heavy industry, and promote the rationalization of the entire economic structure. All enterprises must vigorously strive to make every item of the economic and technological quotas reach an advance level and create even more wealth with the same level of human, financial, and material resources. With regard to all products, we should strive vigorously to achieve excellent quality and reasonable price, new and original designs and colors, many varieties of products, and ready markets. We must make a great effort to heighten our efficiency in the utilization of energy resources, and lower our consumption of those resources. We must perfect all kinds of systems of production responsibility, put these systems of responsibility into effect with regard to the workshop, the factory teams and groups, and even each individual worker, thus enabling the systems of responsibility to promote the heightening of economic benefits. Only after we have established the ideology of the heightening economic benefits, will it be possible for us to tap further the potential of the whole economic area, and only then will economic construction show its true potential rate of development.

Regarding the building of socialist spiritual civilization, we must strive vigorously to bring about a decided improvement in the three areas of party practices, the security of society, and current practices in society. In this, it is first of all necessary to strive to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, and then use the improvement in party practices to spur on an improvement in practices among the people. Ever since the smashing of the "Gang of Four," and in particular since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the excellent traditions and practices of our party have already had a comparatively good revival and promotion, and the situation regarding improper party practices has already changed somewhat; however, there still has not been a fundamental change for the better, and what is especially serious is that some party members, and even responsible, leading cadres, have already developed to the point where, with their smuggling, wheeling and dealing, corruption, and bribe taking, they have entered upon a serious, illegal, criminal path. At present, if we are to strive to bring about a decisive improvement in party practices, then we must definitely resolutely attack the serious illegal, criminal actions of smuggling and trafficking, corruption and accepting bribes, and also use this breach to bring about a further change in the bad practice on the part of a portion of party members and cadres, of using their positions to obtain private gain. Economically, we have opened ourselves up more to the outside, and have liberalized things domestically, and these are firm policies; but we absolutely cannot lift restrictions on party practices, or liberalize party discipline. We can only be more strict. We must, through taking charge and getting a good hold on party practices, promote a general improvement in prevailing practices in society. Within the party, serious violators of the law and of party discipline are, after all, in the minority, and they are completely isolated; they must receive the punishment of party discipline and the law of the land. Along with attacking the serious illegal and criminal actions of smuggling, wheeling and dealing, corruption, and accepting bribes, we must, throughout the entire party, carry out education in party spirit, correct party practices, and party discipline; conscientiously study the "guiding principles" and relevant documents of the Central Committee; launch programs of criticism and self-criticism; heighten the awareness of all party members, especially cadres; and correct bad practices. In this way, the party's excellent traditions and practices will be certain to enjoy a great revival and promotion.

For the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization, a great deal of work is required, and the tasks are very heavy; this, then, requires that we rouse our spirits and strive to find methods. All cadres, and the masses, must go all out with revolutionary enthusiasm and set about their work in a solid, down-to-earth manner, and vigorously and speedily; they must proceed methodically, step by step, and they cannot relax for a day. At present, among some middle-aged cadres, there is a kind of unhealthy mood, as if to say of themselves that "in taking over from the previous shift, we are resented for being too old; in handing over to the next shift, we are resented for being too early; after working a few more years, we'll all be pulled down anyway." Towards their work, they adopt the negative attitude of "Be a Buddhist monk for a day, ring the temple bell for a day," and this is quite erroneous. We Communist Party members do not pay attention to whether one is old or young, whether one's position is high or low, or whether one is in office or out of office; all in the same way must struggle for the liberation of the entire human race, and all must serve the people with their whole

hearts and minds. In order to do a good job of building the two civilizations, all levels of party organization must conscientiously take care to do a good job of investigating, studying, examining, and supervising; leading bodies must organize their forces to go down into the countryside, the factories, and the shops, study new situations, solve new problems, earnestly help people at the grassroots level to solve their difficulties, and carry out, one by one, each and every item of their work.

We are taking leave of the old year, and welcoming the new. In the past year, in our city and in the province as a whole, as in the entire country, every aspect of work has achieved a new development, and every field and profession has made a new contribution. We are in the midst of the great change of coming out of chaos into order, from poverty into wealth, and in the midst of a historical tide of great developments. There are still a good many difficulties before us, and all kinds of problems still exist, but we have complete confidence that we will overcome them, and solve them. Let us unite and, under the leadership of the party, greatly increase our aspirations, go all out to make our country strong, have our feet on solid ground, quietly bury ourselves in hard work, and strive for an even greater victory.

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CSO: 4005/635

PARTY AND STATE

REASONS FOR CHANGES IN PARTY POLICY EXPLAINED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668]: "A Discussion of the So-Called 'Many Changes in Policy'"]

[Text] Some people are afraid and tired of changes, and they blame us for "many changes in policy." So far, this question has not yet been solved properly, and still requires some explanation.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, there have been generally the following changes in our party's principle, policy, slogan and action:

First, the change in bringing order out of chaos. For instance, our party Central Committee strongly criticized the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers" and established a new ideological line of "seeking truth from facts," thus clarifying the rights and wrongs in thinking, politics and theory; settling a large number of problems left from the past; recovering the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought as a scientific theoretical system; decisively stopping the use of the out-dated slogan "Taking class struggle as the key link"; firmly discarding the mistaken theory of so-called "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"; shifting the focus of party and government work to socialist modernization; resolutely clearing up the longstanding leftist guiding thought in economic work; implementing the policy of "readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading" of the national economy, and so forth. All these are truly changes from the "leftist" principles, policies, slogans and actions of the past. At the same time, they are changes from chaos to order and from wrong to right which are natural and necessary.

Second, the innovative change made on the basis of the summation of past experience. For instance, our party Central Committee has stated that in socialist economic construction it is necessary to proceed from our national state, act in accordance with our capability, make positive efforts, and achieve the aim of modernization step by step and in stages; that state-owned economy and collective economy are the basic forms of our economy, and workers' individual economy within a certain scope is a necessary supplement to public ownership economy; that it is necessary to enforce planned economy on the basis of public

ownership and, at the same time, bring into play the auxiliary role of market adjustment; that we must gradually build a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy; that socialism must have a high degree of spiritual civilization; that in rural areas and factories we must put into effect the responsibility system in production or in economy so that the interests of production units will be linked with the effect of operation, and the workers' income will be linked with the fruit of their labor; that in factories we must make managers responsible for operation under the leadership of the party committee and, at the same time, try out the workers' congress system under the leadership of the party committee, and so forth. These principles, policies, slogans and measures either have never been mentioned before or have gone further than what was suggested in the past. It is indeed a change. However, this change is in conformity with the law of development of socialist construction, coincides with the interests and will of the people, is an innovation on the basis of following the existing correct policy, and is also natural and necessary.

Third, the change brought about by the tortuous course of people's understanding. Lenin said: "People's understanding is not a straight line but an infinite curve similar to a line of circles or a spiral." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Often, correct knowledge can be reached only after many repetitions of the process leading from knowledge to practice and then back to knowledge." Therefore, a viewpoint, a policy or a measure often goes through a process from its birth to its gradual perfection. For instance, regarding the criterion of modernization, the relationship between readjustment and restructuring, the relationship between planned regulation and market readjustment, and the ways and means of implementing the principle of "to each according to his work" among industrial and communications enterprises, and so forth, our views and wording are different from time to time. Regarding the policy on agriculture, the CCP Central Committee's document No 75 (1980) goes further than the two documents on agriculture passed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and the State Council's document No 13 (1981) goes still further than the former. Such changes will be unavoidable in the future. Is it possible to have no change and go no further by making a fixed rule once and for all? It is not. The reason is that it is not possible to expose contradictions in the objective world once and for all, and to see and understand the objective world at a glance and completely once and for all.

Fourth, the change of emphasis at different times and in different places. For instance, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the emphasis was on bringing order out of chaos to correct leftist mistakes, in view of the leftist guiding thinking which was long present during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution," and aiming at the incorrect principle of the "two whatevers." After the party Central Committee's work conference in December 1980, and especially after the forum on the party's ideological front held by the party Central Committee in August 1981, the emphasis, while continuing to oppose new trends on the ideological front and to support cleaning up the influence of leftist thinking in actual work, has been on opposing the bourgeois liberal tendency toward breaking away from party leadership and from the path of socialism. Since 1979 we have gradually enlarged the decisionmaking power in enterprises, and this year we are continuing to

introduce the economic responsibility system in many industrial and communication enterprises. In recent months, in view of new problems which have emerged following the above changes, the party Central Committee has again criticized and corrected certain departments and some comrades for their lack of an overall point of view and their tendency toward departmental selfishness, doing damage to national interests as a whole. In promoting the responsibility system in agricultural production, in some areas it is necessary to lay emphasis on further throwing convention to the wind and emancipating minds, but in other areas it is necessary to lay emphasis on opposing noninterference and on strengthening unified leadership and unified management. Some comrades take these changes of emphasis at different times and in different areas as "many changes in policy." This is not correct. Our basic viewpoint and basic policy have been consistent all along. The only thing is that to cope with changes in the objective situation and in people's thinking and tendencies, we lay emphasis on different criteria at different times and in different areas. However, when we lay emphasis on one thing, we should not think that what we laid emphasis on previously was wrong, and we should not go to the opposite extreme.

Why are some comrades afraid of and even disgusted with the necessary and normal changes?

This is because man's understanding always lags behind reality. A viewpoint, a policy or a measure often becomes a force of habit through propaganda and practice over a long period of time. When the objective situation has changed, and when experience proves that a certain viewpoint, policy or measure is wrong or outdated, some people still yearn for and even persist in maintaining the wrong or outdated viewpoint, policy or measure, and they cannot yet cope with and get used to the new change. Sometimes, when they have surmounted an old convention through practice and ideological struggle, they will take over another new convention which they must surmount again.

Another reason is that when the leftist guiding ideology held sway, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution," there was truly the phenomenon in varying degrees of people "talking about policy when difficulties arose, forgetting about policy when the situation took a favorable turn, and criticizing policy when a political campaign appeared," so that the masses became afraid of change, and even now they have a lingering fear. Furthermore, in recent years, in some places and organizations, we did not carry out policies firmly and reliably. Sometimes we rushed headlong into mass action; sometimes we would not let people go their own way. In our propaganda work, there was also certain one-sidedness. Sometimes we put undue emphasis on one thing, sometimes on another. For instance, in carrying out the production responsibility system in rural areas, in carrying out the economic responsibility system in industrial and communications enterprises, and in implementing the policy of commodity pricing and the policy of purchasing farm produce and nonstaple products, there was always this situation. Therefore, the people are unable to dispel their misgivings and are still afraid of change.

Still another reason is that any new change always brings about or arouses some new problems in the course of propaganda and implementation. If these problems are not promptly and appropriately solved, some people wonder whether this change is a mistake.

In view of these circumstances, in order to eliminate the fear of trouble and the dislike of change among some people, we must pay attention to the following points:

First, we must teach the cadres and the people to expect problems in the course of their development. We must be aware that everything in the world constantly changes in its endless development. The natural world changes, human society changes, and man's thinking also changes. Therefore, all views, policies, plans or programs which direct people to remake nature, to reform society, and to remold their ideology, naturally must also be suited to the changes in the objective world and to man's subjective knowledge, so they must be revised, replenished and developed. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "True revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans or programs when errors are discovered, as has been indicated, but when a certain objective process has already progressed and changed from one stage of development to another, they must also be good at insuring that they and all their fellow-revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it—that is to say, they must insure that the proposed new revolutionary tasks and new working programs correspond to the new changes in the situation." Thus it can be seen that our views, policies, plans or programs have changed from the wrong course to the right course in order to cope with new changes in the situation. It was natural and not artificial, a good thing and not a bad thing. We should welcome such changes and have no reason to fear them.

Second, we must teach the cadres and the people to understand and handle the relationship between continuous change and relative stability. There is certainly no doubt that objective things are moving and changing all the time. However, the movements and changes of objective things have two different forms: qualitative change and quantitative change. When a thing is in a state of quantitative change, it is relatively stable. Especially in our socialist society, due to the fact that the relationship between production relations and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base is fundamentally consistent and yet contradictory, this relative stability becomes all the more common and important. In undertaking necessary reforms, we as persons who implement policies, and particularly the leading cadres at various levels, must be firm in orientation, assume a positive attitude, take reliable steps, and do work meticulously. For instance, before pursuing a new policy, a new measure, or a new system of management, we must persist in the method of work which Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated, whereby "everything must be put to a test," setting up a model for demonstration, and then advancing wave upon wave. During the test, all possible troubles and shortcomings will be exposed and settled, so that when we popularize a new thing in an all-round way, we will meet with fewer problems and avoid detours. Meanwhile, the experimental unit will play an exemplary and demonstrative role, with which we can convince the cadres and the masses. Even during the period of general popularization, we should also do things by stages and in groups, go forward step by step, deal with one group and put them in order, and then tackle the next group. After a new policy, a new measure or a new system is introduced, it is best to wait for a while and gradually make the new thing work well.

when it has not yet brought its superiority into full play and the majority of people do not show their desire for a change, we should not make any change hastily. Even when we discover that a new system or a new measure is not very suitable or correct, we must adroitly guide action according to the circumstances and make the change step by step. We must not criticize people and correct mistakes in a harsh way, and we must not make too abrupt a turn. In short, we must neither fear changes nor make changes indiscreetly. We cannot change things every day or every season. If we make too many and too abrupt changes, even though the changes are good, it will be difficult for the cadres and the people to accept them and cope with them.

Third, in publicizing and implementing any new policy, new system or new measure, we must persist in the method of "one divides into two." We should insure that all the new principles, policies, systems and measures which our party has carried out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are, in their main aspects, in line with actual conditions and objective laws, in keeping with the interests and aspirations of the great majority of the people, and correct. This should be fully affirmed. However, just as with anything new, when they first make their appearance, they are always imperfect and liable to bring along or give rise to some new problems. Therefore, whoever truly supports the party's principles and policies, whoever is bold and does a good job in making innovations must resolutely carry out these correct principles, policies, systems, and measures; he should never have any doubt about the direction of reform or waver in his determination to carry out the reform simply because unavoidable problems occur. He must also pay serious attention to these new problems which occur in the course of implementing the reform, and take effective measures to solve them promptly, so that our principles, policies, systems, and measures may continuously develop and become perfect. We should carry out our propaganda work in an all-round way. To approve or reject a thing, to commend or criticize a person, and to praise or expose somebody, we must do just the right thing, never make an overstatement, and never lay stress on one side and overlook the other side. Only by acting in this way can we give full play to the positive role of the new principles, policies, systems, and measures, can we eliminate misgivings among those who are afraid of and disgusted with changes, and can we help all people realize that the changes made by our party are necessary and correct, and the more changes the better.

Finally, we must firmly believe in the correctness of our party and the continuity of its policies. Through its glorious fighting career of 60 years, our great party has accumulated and summed up rich experiences and lessons, and is becoming more and more mature, staunch, and correct. With the readjustment, filling out and strengthening of the leading groups of the party and government at various levels from central to local organizations, the continuity of the party's policies will be guaranteed organizationally. The mistake of "too many changes in policy" of the past will not repeat itself. In recent years, due to consequences resulting from the "Great Cultural Revolution" and our lack of experience in undertaking new tasks, certain unnecessary changes have taken place; in the future this, too, will gradually diminish. With the fulfillment of the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding thought, even necessary and normal changes will not be so abrupt. In

the future, all developments and changes will take place steadily and gradually along the party's fixed line and basic policies. There is no need for us to again worry about too many changes in policy.

Of course, these views and convictions cannot come out of the void and must be obtained through study and experience. We must study materialist dialectics and tackle problems by becoming closely involved in the realities of life. This is the effective prescription for the treatment of "aversion to change," as well as for the treatment of other misconceptions.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF DISTINGUISHING 'LEFT' FROM 'RIGHT' STRESSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Lao Bing [5071 0365]: "The Interconnection of the Two Extremes"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed with underlines]

[Text] The interconnection of the two extremes refers to the fact that the two opposing extremes are frequently intermingled and misunderstood. In the last few years I have given greater and perhaps more profound consideration to the reasons behind this.

My first thought was that since the two extremes are in opposition, they cannot be equated nor can they be lumped together. For example, "Left" is "Left" and Right is Right, each has its own designated quality. To say that "Left" means Right or that Right means "Left" is to treat them as being one and the same. If this were so, then how could "Left" be distinguished from Right? To describe "Left" as Right and Right as "Left" is to merge them together. If this were true, wouldn't that just be transposing them?

Instances of equating and lumping together the two opposite extremes occur frequently and these two processes are often interdependent. Didn't those distant observers say that after the "gang of four" was smashed there were many comrades who persisted in talking about being "'Left' in form but Right in essence" and "'Left' in name and Right in reality." Here "Left" was equated with Right so that others couldn't tell what was "Left" and what was Right. In practical work, there are some people who, if possible, delay or oppose clearing up injustices, misrepresentations and misjudged cases. If they are unable to delay or oppose these cases, then they put a "tail" on those comrades who were wronged, saying that they "fear the Right." As for the main core who uncovered the "gang of four" faction, they absolve and defend them when possible, saying that they "fear the 'Left.'" In the previous period there were also many comrades who didn't refute views that violated the four fundamental principles nor did they refute fabricated rumors, malicious slander or agitation to destroy unity. Instead, they reproached those comrades who dared to uphold truth and principles for "striking with a bludgeon" and committing a "Leftist error" that "surpassed the historical period." They said it was a "Left deviationist form of Marxism"...and so on, yet they themselves never thought that these accusations could be considered a harsh "bludgeoning." This is an instance of how, in certain people's

understanding, they equate "Left" and Right and in their actions they lump them together, thereby transposing "Left" and Right.

Theoretically, the implied meaning of "the interconnection of the two extremes" should not be interpreted as "considering the two extremes to be identical" or as "merging the two extremes." These two meanings violate the specific designated quality of the phenomena. However, it is very easy for those who always equate or merge the two opposing extremes to jump from one extreme to the other, giving rise once more to the "interconnection of the two extremes." This is not a joking matter. Wang Ming was a historical witness. It was he who all of a sudden jumped from the "Left," which had caused the party of the white area to suffer great losses, to the Right. During the early period of the war of resistance, the Right was characterized as "being completely under the united front line." Of course, this is only an extreme example, but it is worth our careful consideration.

There is bound to be a linking passageway that will explain the frequent interconnection between the two opposing extremes. This linking passageway may be found in one or two of the following three places discussed below.

First, there used to be an argument that circulated among a group of people that went: "Rightist thinking is a problem of standpoint and 'Leftist' thinking is a problem of method." Actually, this is not necessarily correct. Among those comrades who commit errors of the Right, certainly some of their errors involve problems of standpoint but many are also problems of understanding and method. For many people, the starting point is still to try to do things successfully. However, because of their confused understanding, lack of experience and unclear idea of the circumstances, their methods are incorrect and in the end they are taken in by the enemy. This occurs with some frequency. Among those comrades who commit errors of the "Left," many of their errors clearly involve problems of understanding or method. For example, there is nothing wrong in having as one's starting point the desire to do a good job for the party and the people by being more prompt and efficient in one's work. However, it can't be denied that the starting point of some people of the "Left" is not upright nor is their standpoint correct. Perhaps some of them use the "Left" to cover up the Rightist thinking in their hearts because they fear being dismissed from office. Some seek to gain personal advantage by trampling over others; they don't even hesitate to dye their own "official caps" red with the blood of others. As for these "Leftist" counterrevolutionaries who originally infiltrated the revolutionary camp, that is another matter altogether. It is precisely at this point that we find the linking passageway, namely, our sense of responsibility toward the party, the people and the revolutionary cause. Whether mistakes are of the "Left" or of the Right, they all endanger the party, the people and the revolutionary cause. When a person who has a genuine and strong sense of responsibility toward the party, the people and the revolutionary cause makes a "Leftist" error, he is bound to be on guard against the Right while he is in the process of rectifying his "Leftist" mistake and vice versa. Without this sense of responsibility, a linking passageway going from "Left" to Right or from Right to "Left" becomes established.

Second, whether or not a belief, a policy or a measure is correct or whether it can attain positive results is not determined by wishful thinking. Rather

it is determined by whether or not it corresponds to objective conditions and laws. In the past through a "misunderstanding," the theory of the unity of intentions and results was put as follows: "If intentions are good, results will certainly be good; if results are poor, then intentions must also be bad." During the decade of internal unrest, many people were often led to punish others because of this logic. By now they ought to understand that intentions and results often don't coincide. This is because intentions are the responsibility of each individual, and unexpected external conditions may interfere with results. In order to seek the unity of intentions and results, which involves decisionmaking, it is necessary to pay attention to objective reality and to understand and analyze objective reality. In this way we can master objective laws and truly deal with things according to objective laws. If we commit errors of the "Left" or of the Right and remain unwilling to conscientiously sum up our experiences and lessons from objective reality, if we refuse to truly deal with things according to objective laws and continue to rely on our own subjective imagination, guesswork and reckoning to find methods for avoiding committing mistakes, that would create the second linking passageway going from the "Left" to the Right or from the Right to the "Left."

Third, there is another general and extensive linking passageway: that is, the metaphysics of ideological methods. The manifestations of metaphysical methods of thinking are numerous, and they can be said to be found everywhere. For example, in the past several years the ideology of the "whatevers" has been in vogue. Whoever said something that did not coincide exactly with what Comrade Mao Zedong said would be regarded as being very disrespectful. What was said may have even been regarded as a vicious attack. This certainly is a matter of metaphysics. In the past 2 years, especially during a period last year, there were some people who seemed to have recreated a new "whatever": "Whatever was considered correct in the past is today considered to be incorrect." Isn't this also metaphysics? Furthermore, in the past several decades, whoever talked about humanitarianism or human nature would be criticized as propagating bourgeois ideology. Recently some people have proposed that "Humanitarianism /is none other than/ Marxism," "The essence of Marxism /is none other than/ humanitarianism" and "The starting point and result of Marxism /is none other than/ man himself." Their enthusiasm for humanitarianism knows no bounds. Nevertheless, when others criticize this view of lumping humanitarianism together with Marxism, they carefully insist that "this would prevent people from researching and discussing humanitarianism," "It would mean that Marxism lacks its own concept of humanitarianism" and "This would completely deny humanitarianism." After they themselves have slyly changed the subject and set up arguments that obviously don't exist, they vehemently accuse that view of being "Left deviationist Marxism." /"None other than"/ is the same thing as /"equal to"/ and how great are the uses of "none other than"! I believe these people have at least been harmed as far as their ways of thinking are concerned by metaphysics. What is the reason for this? It is because the main feature of metaphysics is the lack of analysis and differentiation. If someone commits a "Leftist" or Rightist" error and continues to rely on these methods to think over problems, how could he not jump from the "Left" to the Right or from the Right to the "Left"?

The way to plug up these three linking passageways can be expressed in 16 words. They are: uphold the truth, encourage healthy trends, free ourselves from old ideas and seek truth from facts. However, this is not an easy task. It will be necessary to go through a severe test and the name of this test is "individual gains and losses, successes and failures." To do otherwise would also be very difficult.

PARTY AND STATE

PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING LAWYERS BECOME EFFECTIVE

Lawyer's Comments

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Li Shutang [2621 2885 2768], deputy secretary general of the Shanghai Lawyers Association: "Written on the Eve of the Coming Into Force of the Provisional Regulations Concerning Lawyers"]

[Text] The Provisional Regulations Governing the Work of Lawyers in the PRC are about to come into force on 1 January of next year. This is an important event in the progress of strengthening the legal system in our country and marks a new stage in building up the organization of lawyers in our country. We who work as lawyers are sincerely pleased and are determined to devote ourselves to conscientious studies and resolutely to implement the regulations.

The Provisional Lawyers Regulations are important pieces of legislation in our country's legal system. They affirm in legal form the nature, tasks, rights, duties, principles of behavior, qualifications and structure of organization for all lawyers in our country. We are determined to advance the political quality and professional level of lawyers through study and actual practice. The Provisional Lawyers Regulations will also serve us as a future standard for strict specialized training and the ideological education of lawyers. Every single lawyer must carry out his duties and exert himself in accordance with the Provisional Lawyers Regulations.

The Provisional Lawyers Regulations are the legal basis for building up our country's organization of lawyers. We are firmly determined to take these regulations as our standard, take care to draw a clear line of demarcation between the principles of our country's legal system and that of the capitalist countries and ensure that our system develops and progresses along the path of socialism. Due to the difference in social systems, the two different legal systems are of different character. The lawyers in our country are the state's legal workers; they must perform their work organized and guided by the Bureau of Legal Counselors. In their professional work of protecting the legitimate rights and interests of the parties whom they represent, they must base all their action on true facts. The law must be their guideline, and they must be loyal to the socialist cause and the interests of the people. They must adhere to the stand of the party and start out from

a desire to uphold the correct implementation of the laws. This is a completely different concept from that in capitalist countries, where lawyers start out merely in an employment relationship and scheme to gain profits for their clients. Lawyer-workers of the eighties shoulder the heavy task of carrying on our cause and forging ahead, carrying on the past heritage and opening up the future. We are keenly aware that the work of lawyers is one of great honor, also it is arduous work. Not only does it require a high degree of political responsibility, but also a most thorough knowledge of the law, as well as a rich practical experience in judicial work. Following the developing circumstances, we are faced with many new problems, such as how lawyers may serve in our economic work, make their contribution in cases involving foreign commerce, etc. To show ourselves worthy of the great trust placed in us by the party and the people, we are determined to exert ourselves in our studies of law, accumulate experiences, be on guard against conceit and impetuosity and be modest and prudent. Since we have rebuilt the organization of lawyers under the leadership of the party, it is only under this leadership that we can go on to perfect the system. We fervently hope that the party and the government will render us the greatest support with their guidance and favor us with their care in every way.

In the past a great number of people displayed a full measure of confidence and good faith in requesting legal assistance from us. This is very gratifying. However, presently the work of lawyers is still very far from satisfying fully the needs of the masses, a situation which we are determined to rectify as soon as possible. The work of lawyers is of a wide social character. We hope the broad masses will exercise supervision over our work and spur us on to an even greater effectiveness of our work.

Initial Induction

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Article by Yao Fazhi [1202 3127 3112]: "The First Group of Lawyers Officially Inducted in Our Area"]

[Excerpt] The first group of lawyers has been officially inducted in our area. Wu Jialin and others, altogether 26 comrades, obtained their accreditation as lawyers. On the 25th, the Yinchuan Municipality held a lawyers accreditation meeting and handed the lawyers their notification papers.

This group of lawyers has passed a strict political investigation plus a professional examination according to the Provisional Lawyers Regulations of the PRC. Prior to that, appraisals of them had been requested from all units concerned, the public security organs, the procuratorial organs and the people's courts, as well as organizational and personnel departments. Their cases were finally studied and approved by the Judicial Bureau of the autonomous region, and registration for record was implemented with the Ministry of Justice.

In this group there were 10 members of the CCP, 1 assistant professor and 2 lecturers. Seventeen of them are graduates from the law curriculum of

institutions of higher learning and secondary law schools, 4 from other disciplines in institutions of higher learning, 18 have had previous experience in judicial work or in law instruction and research in law, 4 are women, 3 are of Hui nationality. This group of lawyers will undertake the professional work of lawyers under the organization and guidance of the Legal Counselors Office of Yinchuan Municipality.

9808

CSO: 4005/574

PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTATOR URGES IN-DEPTH STUDY OF 'RESOLUTION'

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Commentator: "We Must Engage in a Thorough Study of the 'Resolution'"]

[Text] Is it necessary for us to engage in a thorough study of the "Resolution"? How thoroughly should we study the "Resolution"? The experience gained by the Daqing and Suihua units in studying the "Resolution" in depth offers an excellent answer.

Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party organizations at various levels throughout the province and large numbers of party cadres have studied the "Resolution" in a serious manner. On many major historical questions, they have achieved outstanding results in distinguishing between what is right and what is wrong, in heightening their understanding, and in uniting their thinking. However, an even more thorough study of the "Resolution" is necessary to meet the demand of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee that the comprehensive contents of the "Resolution" be fully appreciated. Those who think that they have already studied and grasped the spirit of the "Resolution" and that there is no need for them to study it in greater depth are mistaken.

The main purpose of studying the "Resolution" in depth is so that we may relate to actual circumstances, benefit from the lessons we have learned from experience, find solutions to challenging problems, and make use of what we have learned in approaching our tasks. In relating our action to actual facts, it is first necessary that we thoroughly study the eighth part of the "Resolution," which has to do with "uniting in the struggle to establish a socialist, modern, and powerful nation," thoroughly benefiting from our experiences since the founding of the republic 32 years ago, summing up the lessons we have learned from experience in implementing the Central Committee's line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and achieving a more profound understanding of the basic spirit of the "Resolution."

In order to relate our actions to actual circumstances and to sum up the lessons we have learned from our experiences, it is necessary that we do a good job of investigation and study so that we may have a truly correct understanding of the actual circumstances. We must investigate and study those problems

which have a bearing on the establishment of a material and spiritual civilization, analyze in a serious manner the impact of history on the present situation, have a clear understanding of the cause and effect of major problems, and sum up the lessons we have learned from experience in uniting our thoughts and our understanding.

In relating our actions to actual circumstances and in summing up our experiences, it is necessary that we conscientiously launch a campaign of criticism and self-criticism, eradicate the effects of leftist thinking, resist and condemn the liberalization trend which seeks to shake off party leadership and to depart from the socialist line, and overcome and change the weak and dispirited state of ideological-political leadership. Without criticism and self-criticism, the summing up of our experiences has no relevance and it will not be possible to distinguish what is right from what is wrong. It is only through criticism and self-criticism on the basis of facts that we can profit from our experiences.

The call has been made by the provincial party committee to party organizations at various levels to give a systematic accounting of their work this winter and next spring in the spirit of the rectification campaign. We must apply to all phases of our work that which we have learned from a thorough study of the "Resolution," and we must use the "Resolution" as a weapon to sum up the lessons we have learned from our experience in implementing the line, principles, and policies of the Central Committee, in conducting a war between capitalism and socialism, and in providing leadership in our ideological-political work. It is of special importance that cadres at the county and regiment levels, through a review of their work and thorough study, should upgrade their ideological theories and their leadership so that they may adopt a firm stand and renew their spirit in attempting to do a better job in the economic and other areas.

There is no doubt that we can effectively promote socialist modernization construction projects and achieve a greater victory if we suit our action to actual circumstances, if we study the "Resolution" in depth, and if we bring about unity of thinking and understanding on the part of large numbers of party cadres and the masses.

9621

CSO: 4005/503

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS DISCUSSES GOVERNMENT REFORM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 81 p 1

[Article: "Do Well in All Items of Work in Shanghai in a Down to Earth Manner, Implement the Spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress--A Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress and the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Consultative Congress"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon (the 29th), Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai People's Congress, spoke of the spirit of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress at the 17th session of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress and the 18th session of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Consultative Congress. He called on the people of the entire city to study seriously, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the documents of the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, to implement resolutely and thoroughly each resolution passed by the congress, to do a good job in all items of work in a down to earth manner and to further develop the excellent situation.

When making his report, Hu Lijiao described the general circumstances of the congress and the results it achieved. He pointed out that the main results of the congress were those of: making a scientific analysis of the 1981 economic picture and indicating the goals to strive for in 1982; summarizing the experience of several years of economic construction and establishing 10 guidelines for future economic construction; further perfecting socialist democracy and its legal system and strengthening the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization; and reforming government agencies in a planned and directed way and overcoming bureaucratism.

Hu Lijiao offered his views on how to go about thoroughly implementing each resolution and how to do well in every item of work in Shanghai in terms of the actual conditions in Shanghai.

1. The work of drawing up the 1982 national economic plan for this city must be firmly undertaken. The Municipal People's Government has already made preliminary arrangements in regard to the 1982 national economic plan for the city. Compared to 1981, the total value of output for industries throughout the city is to increase 4 percent, with light industry increasing 6 percent and heavy industry increasing 1.5 percent; the total value of agricultural output is to increase 4 percent; and fiscal income is to increase 2.7 percent. We must work hard to fulfill

the 1982 national economic and social development plans for the city, to consolidate and stabilize economic achievements, and to continue to preserve the balance of revenues and expenditures in public finance and credit and the basic stability of commodity prices. In 1982, all of the departments engaged in economic work in our Shanghai must take the improvement of economic conditions as the point of departure and by every means possible improve economic results in production, construction, commodity circulation and all areas, making new contributions for the state.

2. Socialist democracy and its legal system must be perfected. The Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress should continue to concentrate on local legislative work. Shanghai is the largest industrial city in the nation and should hasten local work on economic legislation; at the same time, it must strengthen its supervision of the work of the Municipal People's Government and the People's Higher Court and the People's Procurate of the city; it should continue to strengthen its relationship with the representatives to the Municipal People's Congress and foster the roles of the representatives. The People's Higher Court and the People's Procuratorate of this city should continue to cooperate with the public security agencies and related departments so as to consolidate and strengthen the social order, to strengthen the promotion of legal education, to arouse the masses, to strike at counterrevolutionary and other criminal elements accurately and in a timely manner, and to bring about a further turn for the better in the social order of the city. At the same time, we must properly handle economic cases in accordance with the law; properly handle civil cases and civil disputes in a timely manner; protect the legal rights of the state, the collective, and the individual; and hasten stability and unity within the ranks of the people.

3. The construction of a socialist spiritual civilization must be strengthened. On the ideological battlefield, we must resolutely overcome the tide of bourgeois liberalization which desires to shake off party leadership and depart from the socialist path. We must undertake effective promotional and education work, ideological and political work, and work in other areas, as well as undertake the further development of socialist democracy and the perfecting of the socialist legal system to insure that the members of our society increasingly establish extensive socialist and communist morals and work attitudes, noble ideological sentiments, lifestyles and esthetic standards; establish a spirit of conscious obedience to the law and a high degree of organizational sense and discipline; uphold the principle of the interests of the individual and the part being subordinate to the interests of the whole and of immediate interests being subordinate to long-range interests; and foster the noble spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Government workers at every level, especially economic workers, must maintain firm views and clear heads, and oppose and guard against the invasion of decadent capitalist ideology and lifestyle. We must in particular strengthen the education of our youths and develop the "five stresses and four points of beauty" campaign to insure that we increase and strengthen our ability to resist the various mistaken ideological tides. We must resolutely put a halt to such improper tendencies in the realm of socialist economic life as giving gifts to solicit favors, using connections to achieve goals, demanding sales commissions, using back door methods, being extravagant and wasteful, etc. We must resolutely attack

avaricious theft, speculation, smuggling and tax evasion and various other forms of criminal activity that damage the socialist economy; we must protect socialism's materialist civilization from harm and hasten the daily development of a socialist spiritual civilization.

4. Government agencies must be reformed. After the agency reform proposals of the State Council were sent down, the Shanghai People's Government took steps to establish a program of government agency reform and presented it to the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress for discussion and approval so that it could be carried out in a directed and orderly manner. The reform of government agencies will firmly overcome the various forms of bureaucraticism, arouse the revolutionary spirit of the broad ranks of cadres, further improve leadership styles and methods, and improve governmental efficiency in a practical way.

Hu Lijiao said that, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the people of the entire city must uphold the four basic principles, continue to consolidate and develop a stable and unified political situation, and, in order to bring about a period of economic vitality, struggle hard to build our state into a strong, modernized, highly democratic, highly civilized socialist nation.

Attending the meetings were: Vice Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress Zhong Min [6945 3046], Di Jingxiang [3693 2529 5980], Su Buqing [5685 2975 7230], Wang Tao [3769 3447], Liu Jingji [0491 7231 1015], Wu Ruohan [0702 5387 1344], Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004], and Li Peinan [2621 1014 0589] and Vice Chairmen of the Municipal People's Political Consultative Congress Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 1807], Song Richang [1345 2480 2490], Jing Renqiu [7231 0117 4428], Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 2875], Wang Zhi-zhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], and Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835]. Attending the meeting as nonvoting delegates were: Shanghai Vice Mayors Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660] and Yang Kai [2799 1956], President of the Municipal People's Higher Court Guan Zizhan [7070 1311 1455], Chief Procurator of the Municipal People's Procuratorate Qin Kun [4440 2492], and the directors of all departments of the municipal government and those in charge of the standing committees of the people's congresses and political consultative congresses of every prefecture and county.

Yesterday afternoon, the two sessions separately discussed the report made by Comrade Hu Lijiao. The Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress also confirmed related appointments and dismissals.

9705

CSO: 4005/575

LEFTIST INFLUENCES, BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION DECRIED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Rong Sheng [1369 3932]: "Continue to Eliminate Leftist Influence and Rectify Bourgeois Liberalization Tendencies"]

[Text] At present, we must conscientiously study the "Resolution on Certain Historical Questions Since the Founding of the PRC," enter deeply into the spirit of carrying out the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee, continue to eradicate the guiding ideology of leftism, and continue to develop the excellent situation we have had since the Third Plenum. At the same time, we must augment the party's leadership, change any condition of laxness or weakness, and criticize and overcome all kinds of erroneous tendencies; in particular, we must rectify that tendency toward bourgeois liberalization which departs from the leadership of the party and the path of socialism. In that case, is continuing to eradicate leftist ideological tendencies in contradiction with rectifying tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism? This is a problem in ideological understanding that must be solved.

We must conscientiously study the "Historical Resolution," and continue to eradicate the influence of the guiding ideology of leftism; this must be affirmed, and we absolutely cannot slacken in this. Ever since the Third Plenum, straight on through the passing of the "Historical Resolution" by the Sixth Plenum, the task of eliminating leftist errors from the guiding ideology of the party was truly completed. The communique of the Sixth Plenum pointed out that: "this meeting will go down in history as the completion of the historic task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology of the party." However, having solved the problem of leftist error in the party's leadership is definitely not the same as having also completely eliminated leftist ideological influence in every aspect of actual work. Comrade Hu Yaobang, in his speech at the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, pointed out that: "The task of bringing order out of chaos has not yet been completed; a good many problems still exist in every aspect of work." Looking at it from the point of view of the actual situation, the problem of resolutely rectifying leftist influence really does still exist. For example, with regard to our system of suiting measures to local conditions, or putting into effect a diversified system of responsibility in agricultural production, in some cases we cannot communicate our ideology effectively, and so we "lock horns" with the masses and cannot carry through our policies, or else we adopt the method of "forced rectification,"

dampening the masses' enthusiasm. After locking horns ends in a stalemate, leadership is abandoned, and no attempt is made at management, so that certain concrete problems in actual work cannot get a timely, satisfactory solution. Under these circumstances, if we don't conscientiously examine and correct our own ideology and earnestly strengthen our leadership, then we will erroneously think that putting into effect a system of responsibility for agricultural production is "leftist retrogression." Problems such as this obviously reflect the fact that leftist ideological influence has not been completely eradicated. For this reason, we must definitely continue to go deeply into our study of the "Historical Resolution," criticize and rectify, in a manner of seeking truth from facts, leftist ideological influence existing in all areas of actual work, and unwaveringly implement the party's line, programs, and policies since the Third Plenum, so as to make a contribution to the building of socialist modernization.

At the same time, we should also be aware of the fact that tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization also really do exist. For example, advocating "extreme democracy" and "absolute freedom," bringing up the idea of wanting to "break through" the "restrictions" of the four basic principles, denying the necessity of remaking socialism in our country, considering that the effort to create socialism was "done too early" and that we should "supplement our courses in capitalism," etc. As for the presently-existing problem of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization, we decidedly cannot look upon it lightly, as a matter not worthy of our consideration. We should soberly recognize the fact that the four basic principles are the common political basis for the unity of our entire party, and for the unity of all the people of all nationalities of our country, and are also the fundamental guarantee of the successful progress of the enterprise of building socialist modernization. And the core of upholding the four modernizations is upholding the leadership of the party. The "Resolutions" clearly point out: "If there had been no Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China; by the same token, without the Chinese Communist Party there cannot be a modernized, socialist China." But the core of the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization is opposition to the party's leadership. If we allow this erroneous current of thought to spread unchecked and continue to develop, then it will become a kind of centrifugal force politically, harming the future of our nation and people, and harming our enterprise of socialist modernization. For this reason, regarding the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization, we must carry out strict and accurate criticism and engage in the necessary, appropriate struggle. If we turn a blind eye to these unhealthy tendencies, allow them to spread unchecked, and not dare to criticize them, then this is obviously erroneous, and must be speedily corrected.

Some people believe that all along since the Third Plenum we have been criticizing leftism and that, therefore, when now we also bring up the notion of having to overcome the tendency towards bourgeois liberalization, it seems that this is a new problem which has just arisen. Actually, this view is baseless. For example, the bulletin of the Third Plenum pointed out that: "The building of socialism modernization requires a concentrated, unified leadership"; "bourgeois factionalism and anarchy must be resolutely opposed"; and that "it is absolutely prohibited to damage the political aspects of stability and unity that are required by the building of socialist modernization." On 30 March 1979 Comrade

Deng Xiaoping in his speech at the party's theoretical working conference to discuss ideological guidelines, referring directly to the small minority in society who were in the process of disseminating currents of thought that are doubtful of or opposed to the four basic principles, clearly reaffirmed the necessity of upholding the four basic principles. On 16 January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his report entitled "On the Situation and Task at Present," further pointed out that "we must resolutely eradicate the anarchistic currents of thought that were brought to the party by the "Gang of Four," as well as all kinds of bourgeois liberalization currents that have recently appeared within the party." The document "Regarding Certain Principles Affecting Political Life Within the Party" passed by the Fifth Plenum in February 1980 pointed out that: "We must pass judgment on and engage in struggle against unhealthy tendencies and evil practices in society, and erroneous and reactionary currents of thought." The "Resolutions" passed by the Sixth Plenum point out that: "We must correctly employ the weapons of criticism and self-criticism to overcome all kinds of erroneous thinking that departs from the correct principles of the party." From all this one can see that the problem of rectifying tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism is decidedly not a problem that has just arisen; this has been our party's policy ever since the Third Plenum, and has been necessarily continued and supplemented by the Sixth Plenum.

Our party has all along advocated opening up struggle on two fronts; where there is leftism, oppose leftism; where there is rightism, oppose rightism; and concrete situations are to be analyzed concretely. Whether leftist ideological tendencies or tendencies toward bourgeois liberalism, both are harmful to the enterprise of socialism, and naturally must be opposed. In our ideological understanding we absolutely cannot oppose the two to one another. In fact, our struggle along those two fronts is not only not contradictory, but is connected and complementary. If we do not pass judgment upon and overcome the tendency towards bourgeois liberalism, it will give those who persevere in erroneous leftist ideology a handle for criticism, and even provide a basis for their persisting in this erroneous leftist ideology. If we do not continue to eradicate leftist ideological influence, that will also provide a pretext for a tendency towards bourgeois liberalism and, moreover, it will also not be possible to correctly and effectively rectify this tendency towards bourgeois liberalization. At the same time, if we do not engage in struggle on both fronts, some people might then take correct things and deny them, holding them to represent leftist ideological influence; others might also take correct things and oppose them as representing a tendency towards bourgeois liberalism. From this one can see that at present we must engage in a struggle along both fronts, and cannot ignore any aspect at all. Of course, with reference to a particular department or a particular unit, whenever and whatever problems arise, we must proceed from a basis of reality, carry out a concrete analysis of the problem, and solve whatever problems there are without making forced interpretations and acting mechanically, getting our distinctions blurred, or arbitrarily heightening the seriousness of matters. In the course of solving this kind of problem, we must also take care to prevent the appearance of yet another kind of problem. In sum, we must apply the correct medicine to each disease, seek truth from facts, and resolutely provide enlightened leadership. Only in this way will we be able, through conscientiously launching a program of criticism and self-criticism, to attain the unity of all our comrades, do a good job in our work, and promote our goal of the four modernizations.

PARTY AND STATE

RETIREMENT OF OLD CADRES, TRAINING OF NEW ONES URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xie Yun [6200 0061]: "Will and Energy, Strengths and Weaknesses"]

[Text] Comrade Wang Chonglun [3769 1504 0243] was a nationally known model worker of the 1950's. But during the past several years, as deputy secretary of the Harbin Municipal Party Committee, he has concerned himself with the production of bean curd and other matters of wide interest to the public. The people often stick up their thumbs, calling him a "man of action."

Of course, the main factor that led Wang Chonglun to become an outstanding man of action lies in his ability to show constant concern for the well-being of the masses and his unassuming and good style of work. Added to this quality is the energetic spirit displayed by this man in his early fifties. This is another factor that is by no means unimportant.

Among our leading cadres are many Wang Chonglun-type comrades who have been praised for their revolutionary spirit and solid workstyle. But some of them are growing old and physically weak. We cannot expect them to work like Comrade Wang Chonglun and walk up and down the streets or the muddy country roads or to work with bean curd producers until late into the night. Their energy can no longer support them in doing such things. "Horse Fuli is determined to gallop 1,000 li a day despite advancing years; old heroes always feel young at heart." This spirit is worthy of admiration and promotion. Nevertheless, old horse Fuli cannot be expected to compete for staying power and speed with you young, robust stallions. Aware of this, today, more and more comrades are voluntarily retiring from the first line of duty or are actively preparing to let young, robust new successors assume the leadership positions. This is a demonstration of their awareness of their responsibility to the revolution in response to the current needs of our nation from a realistic point of view.

The previous discussion focused on the issue of a man's will and energy. Next, I will concentrate on the issue of his strengths and weaknesses. Since everyone has his strengths and weaknesses, no one is supposed to be perfect. Nor can anyone keep his strengths and weaknesses unchanged. When you grow old, you become wiser, more experienced and more skilled in planning strategies. Doing so will put you to the best advantage. But your weaknesses lie in your failing health and easily exhausted energy. In your age, you can no longer

jog as fast as young horses, but you are in a very good position to advise others on reaching a goal. After retiring from the first line of duty, old comrades can engage in an in-depth study of problems as a basis for coming up with important suggestions with regard to our current work, or write books based on their experiences, or write memoirs providing information of historical significance, passing the revolutionary tradition along to the new generations. In this way, they can bring their strong points into play and overcome their weaknesses.

So far, this issue between a man's will and energy and between his strengths and weaknesses is not yet well understood by some comrades, who contend that they are not too old. This being the case, how about comparing themselves to Comrade Wang Chonglun and carefully taking stock of their physical condition! A genuine man of action uses a mixture of his will and energy in getting something really well done. Our cause and the training of successors in this cause will be adversely affected if our old comrades ignore their physical condition and place themselves in a position not in their own best interests.

The popular appeal for producing more men of action like Wang Chonglun implies that more outstanding young cadres should be appointed to the leadership positions. Now ahead of our old comrades is the urgent but glorious task of selecting comrades of good quality and pushing them onto the stage of history.

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CSO: 4005/448

PARTY AND STATE

LEADING CADRES URGED TO SUPPORT, PROTECT ADVANCED YOUTHS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xiao Yi [5135 7326]: "The 'Advanced' Deserve Support"]

[Text] The ancients said: Earth dikes along the rivers are in constant danger of attack by turbulent currents, tall trees must bear the brunt of storms, outstanding performances unmatched by the masses are bound to catch fire. This means that jealousy was also deeprooted in the minds of the ancients. Otherwise, how can we explain why Sun Bin was ordered to cut off his feet and why Han Fei committed suicide?

But today, fundamental changes have taken place in human relations in our new society. For this reason, it is clear that the number of people jealous of advanced figures has become less and less with each passing day. The same is true of sarcastic and outrageous attacks against the advanced. But this does not mean that jealousy is removed from the human mind. It is actually still raging in some localities. Since Comrade Yang Zhenhuai [2799 6591 2037] became an "outstanding welder" and was subsequently named an advanced individual, he has suffered the same frustration as many of his peers did before him. "Gossip" about Yang Zhenhuai became rampant. Partly it came from those who did not understand him and partly it came from others who were jealous of his performance. This is a truth that cannot be covered up. But Yang Zhenhuai has proved capable of handling such "gossip" well. He has taken appropriate measures to build his relations with other comrades. This proves that he possesses the quality and virtue required of an advanced youth. We are delighted by the picture that more and more advanced youths like him have come to the fore.

But it is also sad to note that some other advanced youths have become depressed for certain reasons. They are probably victims of the jealous rage now in vogue. Why can some advanced youths "survive" the current jealous resentment while others cannot? Personal reasons notwithstanding, their stand or fall depends mainly on whether their immediate superiors give them full support. The leaders of young Yang's unit did an excellent job in this connection. They placed strict demands on him while they never failed to give him support and mount counterattacks against incorrect "criticism." When young Yang encountered difficulties, they also gave him ideological education, encouragement and help, which made him feel the warmth of his party

organization and gave him strength to overcome difficulties. But the leaders of other units have done just the opposite. They have paid no attention to the difficulties faced by the advanced individuals. They have also proved unresponsive to rumors and speculation directed at the advanced figures. Things should not be allowed to develop in this way.

The communist attitude toward labor and the labor ethic displayed by advanced figures is the cream of our socialist spiritual civilization. The development of the socialist spiritual civilization requires us to groom and support the advanced figures and to criticize those who are jealous of the advanced figures and mount attacks against them. This is why our organization and leading bodies at all levels must display a daring spirit to support the advanced.

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO RECTIFY PARTY'S WORKSTYLE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Huang Junlong [7806 0193 7127]: "The Thinking of 'Being Pacifist Officials' Is No Good"]

[Text] A few days ago, a friend of mine engaged in the work of discipline inspection told me excitedly: Since the beginning of this year, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission has held forums and issued circulars calling on party members and cadres to combat all unhealthy tendencies and to seek to irrevocably move the party workstyle in the correct direction in the year ahead. This is a task to be undertaken well in order to increase the people's confidence in our party. Today, since the Central Committee has demonstrated such great determination to get this work done, our comrades in the basic level discipline inspection units will have to bear additional responsibility and can no longer think of themselves as "peace-making officials."

I was deeply impressed by this statement, and especially by the remark that cadres "can no longer think of themselves as peace-making officials." This remark literally echoes the aspirations of the masses both inside and outside the party. I must say that many of our comrades engaged in the work of discipline inspection are capable of upholding principles, are unafraid of offending other people affected by unhealthy tendencies, and have no intention of becoming "peace-making officials." But it is also true that some comrades still think of "being peace-making officials." These comrades have failed to display courage in upholding principles and in combatting unhealthy tendencies vigorously.

"The task of monitoring observation of discipline is bound to offend people and is unrewarding. We had better stay out of trouble and lead a peaceful life." This is the thinking shared by some comrades. This thinking that takes into consideration only personal gain or loss is wrong. Our party has set up the discipline inspection function for the purpose of monitoring whether its members (including cadres at all levels) have observed its discipline and whether they have acted in accordance with its principles. Our party has delegated power to comrades monitoring observation of discipline so that they can keep watch over its members and leading cadres and take bold

steps to "investigate" those suspected of violating party discipline in accordance with principles and "bring them to justice without discrimination." This is a matter of primary concern that will have an impact on the rectification of our party's workstyle. Comrade Chen Yun once stressed: The workstyle of our party in power vitally affects its very existence. A cadre concerned with discipline inspection must constantly bear in mind this problem that vitally affects its very existence. When a comrade is found guilty of violating party discipline, we must dare to check on and investigate him, no matter whether he is a new or old party member or a leading cadre. Doing so is in the interest of the party and the people. If we hesitate to offend a few violators of party discipline in exchange for "a peaceful life," we will certainly put the cause of the party in danger and will truly end up angering the broad masses of party members and people and disturbing the peace of our party and country. In this connection, can we hold a party cadre concerned with discipline inspection liable for a serious dereliction of duty?

"In the absence of support from my counterpart party committee, I will be seen as the only bad guy pursuing a case." A worker associated with discipline inspection should seek guidance and support from the party committees and trust that they will come to his aid. Sometimes, he may encounter resistance of one kind or another in pursuing a case involving a member or members of his counterpart party committee. What should he do in this case? Comrade Chen Yun said it well: It is necessary to tell the truth instead of trying to save face. Zhu Xingren [2612 5281 0088], deputy secretary of the Shucheng County Discipline Inspection Commission, Anhui Province, did a very good job in this connection. Last summer when he found three deputy secretaries of the Shucheng County Party Committee guilty of illegally building private homes at the expense of the public fund, as a matter of principle he immediately called this case to the attention of the responsible persons of the county party committee and the county discipline inspection commission, demanding that the three deputy secretaries of the county party committee take the lead in correcting their mistakes. To his surprise, his proposal was rejected out of hand by the leading members, who were either noncommittal or appeared embarrassed and shook their heads in disapproval for fear of offending the three violators. At that time, some "kindhearted" persons said to Zhu Xingren: "Acting alone, can you change the status quo? You had better be satisfied with being an accommodating official. There is no need to be too serious about this matter." But Zhu turned a deaf ear to this suggestion from those "kindhearted" persons. As a responsible person of the county discipline inspection commission, he considered it his inalienable duty to make justice prevail over vice and to rectify the party's workstyle. He thought it would be a shame to see party discipline trampled underfoot and the people's interests endangered for the sake of his job security! When he found that his counterpart party committee was unable to solve his problem, he joined fellow comrades in drafting a letter to the prefectural discipline inspection commission. He wrote a letter to the provincial discipline inspection commission after the prefectural discipline inspection commission could do nothing about it. Finally, with the support of the provincial discipline inspection commission, the Shucheng County Party Committee and the Shucheng County Discipline Inspection Commission joined together to persuade the three deputy secretaries of the county party committee to rectify their unhealthy

workstyle. When the principle of the party's interests is at stake, we must emulate Comrade Zhu Xingren's indomitable spirit and voluntarily strive to persuade our counterpart party committees and higher leading bodies to support us. When ordinary party members and lower level party cadres are found guilty of pursuing unhealthy workstyles, comrades monitoring discipline observation often have no trouble handling such cases in accordance with the party's principles. But they often cannot take stern measures against the members of their counterpart party committees, and especially the responsible persons found guilty of violating party discipline, in accordance with the principles. This situation should be changed. Whether one is guilty of violating party discipline is the only criterion governing the work of discipline inspection. If we take stern measures against those at the bottom and adopt a lenient attitude toward those at the top, a double standard will come into effect. Comrade Zhu Xingren proved to be a man of courage in dealing with the deputy secretaries of the county party committee found guilty of violating party discipline. At a time when he could not get support from the leading members of the Shucheng County Party Committee, he still persisted in seeking truth from facts, without fear of offending anyone, and in presenting his views upward step by step until they reached the higher authorities. This action demonstrated his indomitable spirit of strong party character in upholding principles.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has attached importance to the rectification of the party's workstyle. This is why our party has been able to improve its workstyle year after year. In the year to come, the party's discipline inspection agencies at all levels must be prepared to assume additional responsibility and take resolute measures to rectify the party's workstyle as a demonstration of their determination to live up to the fervent expectations of the masses inside and outside the party.

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRES URGED TO READ EXTENSIVELY, STUDY SELECTIVELY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 82 p 5

[Article by Yue Ping [1471 1627]: "Read Extensively, Study Selectively -- An Important Approach To Making Cadres Knowledgeable"]

[Text] Since the Party Central Committee proposed the requirement of making cadres knowledgeable and professional, the question of study has already attracted the attention of the vast ranks of cadres, and definite results have been achieved. How can we study more effectively? According to the experience of some comrades, reading extensively and studying selectively is an important approach in this regard.

A broad range of knowledge, insofar as the leading cadres are concerned, is a *sine qua non*. The ancients said: "Any person who serves as a commanding general but who knows no astronomy, studies no geography, ignores the conditions of his own army, is not informed about yin and yang, overlooks battle plans, or remains ignorant of the general military situation can only be mediocre." What is being discussed here is "serving as a commanding general"; as for running a country, far more categories of knowledge are needed. In view of the fact that the construction of modernization is being pursued today, if, as a leading cadre, one lacks extensive knowledge and is not equipped with necessary categories of knowledge such as economics, politics, military affairs, theory, ideology, and culture, if one is not well acquainted with various conditions within and outside the country, within and outside the province, and within and outside the county, it will be very difficult for him to do a good job in his leadership work or to open up a new situation. Take a county, for instance, while its size is not very big, it nonetheless has workers, peasants, merchants, students, soldiers, the party, the government, trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations and such groups. If, as a leader of a country, one knows nothing or very little about all this, then it will be very hard for him to run that county well.

Comrade Mao Zedong placed great emphasis on the leading cadres' need for a broad range of knowledge. In response to the needs in our socialist construction, he proposed to our cadres that they must "study some natural sciences and technical sciences," "study some philosophy and political economy," "study some history and jurisprudence," "study some grammar and logic," "study some foreign

languages." In proposing that they study some of this and some of that, he meant to have our cadres reach out extensively insofar as study is concerned.

Reaching out extensively first of all requires us to read as many books as possible. Our predecessors put forward a proposition about "reading all books," and Lu Xun called this "looking through whenever convenient"; this is an effective way of increasing our knowledge. Because the extent of a person's practice is limited, it is impossible for him to directly experience everything himself; reading as many books as possible is an important way of gaining such knowledge. As a leading cadre, it is impossible not to read; he needs to look through books in all fields. Sun Yatsen said: "Among the addictions of all my life, the only serious one, apart from revolution, is reading. I can't live even for one day without doing some reading" (Shang Mingxian [1424 2494 6513], "A Biography of Sun Yatsen," p 45). Mao Zedong indulged even more in this addiction to studying and reading all books; he often told comrades close to him: "Eating can be reduced, sleeping also can be reduced, but reading is one thing that cannot be reduced." Our leading cadres must cultivate this habit of reading. Apart from reading on one's own, reaching out extensively also includes keeping in touch with actualities in all aspects; this is an important avenue through which we can obtain all kinds of knowledge. Our leading cadres have opportunities to come into contact with many persons and things; as long as we have the desire to seek knowledge and are good at study, paying attention as Lu Xun suggested to all kinds and types of people and things, we should be able to learn all kinds of knowledge. If we take all things as being trivial, forgetting them once they are over with and sparing all reflection and attention, then we can hardly learn anything. In a word, as long as we broaden our vision, be humble and diligent at study, we should be able, through reading books, newspapers, and data, through conversations with people, visits, interviews, and investigation and research, to gradually enrich our knowledge.

But it is impossible for a person to be an expert in everything and a specialist in every trade; nor should he remain at the level of understanding only a little in every aspect. Hence there must also be points of relative emphasis in our study, and we also need to learn certain things in conjunction with the points of emphasis in our own business. This requires selective study. Selective study is an important method of obtaining expert knowledge and doing our ordinary work. Experience proves that without expert knowledge, without the spirit of seizing important problems and pursuing them through to the very end, it is impossible to think of doing a good job in our work. When many comrades make mistakes and fail to grasp their work well, it is mainly because they neither understand nor wish to learn. Having penetratingly studied the Marxist theory of reproduction, some comrades who are engaged in economic work say with deep feeling that many of the causes of certain mistakes in our past work were clearly indicated by Marx more than 100 years ago, but in the past we failed to study attentively Marx's theory on reproduction so that we were unable to distinguish right from wrong; with the addition of the influence of a "leftist" guiding ideology, we consequently suffered many a setback in the development of our national economy. Today, the focus of our entire party's work is to work on construction; hence the entire party must concentrate its energy in studying the question of construction. Regarding economic construction, we have, on the basis of summing up the 32 years--and especially the past

3 years—of our experience, already formulated 10 principles of construction. This is an important result of the entire party selectively studying the construction of modernization. But in front of us still lie not a few unrecognized kingdoms of necessity. This is the situation especially with the various fronts, the various departments and the various localities. A series of problems in our work in many respects remain not very clear and await serious study and scrutiny by our cadres at the various levels, especially leading cadres.

Selective study, concretely speaking, may be pursued in two respects. First, we must exert ourselves regarding the systematic nature and the depth of our professional work and professional knowledge and endeavor to turn ourselves in a definite period (such as 3 to 5 years) into experts and specialists in certain fields. For instance, if you are engaged in economic work, then you must selectively study the kind of knowledge directly related to economic work and exert yourself more energetically in that field. You must first of all read several books about economics, including political economy and departmental economics. Then, you must pay attention at all times to domestic and foreign economic developments, regularly look through relevant reports of investigation and statistical data, watch for advanced experiences, and especially make an effort to personally conduct a few careful, systematic investigations and studies in order to obtain firsthand data. In the process of this study, you must make an effort to carry out research and reflection in a comprehensive manner and regularly discuss and exchange opinions with your colleagues. This is the key to digesting book knowledge, refining firsthand experience, and thereby forging systematic knowledge. Without such a process, that which is gained from reading and from investigations will remain dissipated and external. Second, seize an important question in need of urgent solution at present in your practical work, delve into it and study it, and pursue it through to the very end. To a comrade devoted to leadership work, this is a very important and practical method of study; in digging into a thing, studying a problem, we should concentrate our efforts in a particular period to personally carry out investigation, look at some data, and also read some books, and, in addition, consult people with expert knowledge, get a clear idea of that thing by means of both individual research and discussion with others, until the principles and approaches for solving that problem are found. Whether in the past or today, those comrades who did this have always achieved good results. These methods should be promoted among our leading cadres.

Reading extensively and studying selectively are interrelated. Without extensive reading, the range of one's knowledge would be too narrow, and selective study under such circumstances could not be undertaken in great depth; similarly, without selective study, one's professional knowledge would be insufficient, and one's broad knowledge would not be of much further use. Thus broadness promotes professional specialization, and specialization spurs broadening. Only a combination of the two can assure the achievement of systematic and rich knowledge.

Study is the common task of all cadres. In the case of leading cadres, whether they are old cadres, middle-aged or young ones, they must all undertake careful study. At present, there is already a contingent—and there will be still more middle-aged and young cadres—embarking upon posts of leadership. In order to

enable themselves to adapt to the requirements of the construction of modernization and shoulder the heavy burden of leadership work, they should adopt this approach of reading extensively and studying selectively, assiduously carry out study, and march toward the goals of making themselves more professional and knowledgeable. Some comrades already have a relatively high level of culture and professional knowledge; is there, in the case of these comrades, no longer any question of making themselves more knowledgeable and professional? Not necessarily, because there is no limit to learning; at a time when science and technology advance by leaps and bounds today, the cycle of knowledge renewal has become shorter and shorter; what was learned in the 1950's already looks backward today. Furthermore, in our practical work new situations and new problems surge forth endlessly; what little knowledge we originally have can never suffice. In the case of these comrades, they still must intensify their study. Reading extensively and studying selectively is also applicable to these comrades, and the more they study, the better.

The concrete undertaking of study, its methods and its arrangements must proceed from the actual situation of the respective units and individuals; no uniformity should be imposed upon them. The key lies in conscious striving and sustained effort. Under the conditions of today, we must especially emphasize the need to learn from advanced science and technology, to learn from book data. As a leading cadre, the following two statements may serve as the motto of his study: demand talent from science, take the experts as one's teachers.

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PARTY AND STATE

CADRE'S RESISTANCE TO CRITICISM REPORTED

Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 14 Feb 82 p 1

[Article, "Had the Nerve To Tear Down the Sign of the NANFANG RIBAO's Bureau Office"]

[Text] According to a report from the NANFANG RIBAO, on the 11th of this month [February] a serious incident occurred in the city of Shenzhen of resisting criticism by the party organ, seriously insulting the party organ, and rudely and unreasonably tearing down the sign of the Shenzhen bureau office of the NANFANG RIBAO. The perpetrator of this disturbance was Lin Jingyi [2651 2417 6146], member of the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee, Luohu District, Shenzhen Municipality, and his confederates.

On 10 January a leading article of the NANFANG RIBAO was a report entitled "Shenzhen City Formulates its 'Regulations for Cadres in Special Areas'," presenting the experience of Shenzhen's municipal committee, in the course of building special areas, of simultaneously taking charge of the building of both material and spiritual civilization. The report made mention of the following: "The municipal committee and the city government shall report to the entire city the mistake of Lin Jingyi, vice-manager of the Municipal and Heping Road Combined Enterprise Company, in illegally trafficking in a large quantity of smuggling goods in the hope of getting exorbitant profits, and also recover the whole of his illegal income and turn it over to the national coffers." This material was based on the "Report on Shenzhen Municipality Attacking the Smuggling Situation" provided in the No 6 issue of 1981. Lin Jingyi's error was criticized in the Luohu District Committee's organ. But the party concerned, Lin Jingyi, held a grudge about this, and unreasonable made trouble about it. On the morning of 11 January, Lin Jingyi telephoned the Shenzhen bureau of the NANFANG RIBAO, saying that this report was a "carrying out of political persecution" against him, and demanded that the NANFANG RIBAO "acknowledge its mistake", and "set the matter straight."

On 22 January after this report had been reprinted in RENMINRIBAO, the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee wrote a letter to the editorial department of the NANFANG RIBAO, again demanding that that newspaper "acknowledge its mistake, and set the matter straight." On the morning of 1 February, that neighborhood's party committee specially sent an Assistant Secretary of the party committee and the head of the neighborhood committee office to the Shenzhen bureau of the NANFANG RIBAO to look for a journalist to "rectify the matter."

Because no journalists were there, they threatened to tear down the sign of the NANFANG RIBAO's Shenzhen bureau; after threatening this, they were promptly warned by journalists of the Xinhua bureau. On 3 February Lin Jingyi wrote a letter to the editorial department of the NANFANG RIBAO, unreasonably demanding that the NANFANG RIBAO "set straight" the matter of the report, and also threatening to carry out "clarification" of the matter through a periodical in Hong Kong. The editorial department of NANFANG RIBAO, after receiving his letter, indicated that their bureau would investigate to clarify the matter, and issue a report to the Shenzhen Municipal Committee. Just as the NANFANG RIBAO was carrying out its investigation, Lin Jingyi and others had the nerve to go to the Shenzhen bureau of NANFANG RIBAO and make a disturbance, tearing down the bureau's sign. This was a premeditated act of provocation.

After the incident, the NANFANG RIBAO bureau raised a protest against the Heping Road Neighborhood Committee and those responsible for the incident, demanding that the Shenzhen Municipal Committee and the Luohu Area Committee deal with this matter severely. The Shenzhen Municipal Committee placed great importance on this matter, and indicated they would deal with it seriously. The Luohu Area Committee made an apology to the NANFANG RIBAO's bureau. The Heping Road Neighborhood Party Committee also sent someone to hang the NANFANG RIBAO bureau's sign back up, but the illegal actions of Lin Jingyi and the others have not yet been dealt with.

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PARTY AND STATE

'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION' REQUIRES CONFIDENCE, EFFORT

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jan 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Establishment of a Spiritual Civilization Calls for Greater Confidence and Effort"]

[Text] The fourth conference of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and the fourth conference of the Fourth Provincial Political Conference have been brought to a successful close. Discussions at these conferences centered on what our province can do to implement the 10 principles for economic construction, to bring about the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization, and to set the chief duties for the current year.

It is up to us to heighten our confidence, to increase our efforts, and to unite as one in the performance of our duties. In that regard, our most pressing task is the establishment of a spiritual civilization in the ideological area. As was pointed out by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report on the work of the government delivered at the fourth conference of the Fifth National People's Congress, political ideology and ethics and morality are major ingredients for the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization, and the neglect of this problem for whatever reason "has now assumed such alarming proportions that a solution is urgently needed."

First, in order to solve this problem we must learn to use both our hands--that is, we must seek to bring about a spiritual civilization at the same time that we are engaged in the establishment of a material civilization. The fact should be established that of all our work, the most fundamental [task] is to put our economy in good order. Of that, there can be absolutely no doubt. However, that does not mean that people's thinking will automatically be correct once the economy is put on a sound basis. Spiritual civilization cannot exist apart from certain material considerations, but neither can it be expected to come about and develop as a matter of course with the development of material civilization. Experience tells us that there is a close relationship between material and spiritual civilization. The development of spiritual civilization in the realm of thought ensures the long-term development of our national economy and the socialist nature of our undertakings. It is what sets our socialist society apart from capitalist societies and the other exploitative societies of the past. We must learn to work with both our hands and not lose sight of the

need to establish a link between showing concern for the material well-being of the people and the need to heighten the awareness of the people in the realm of thought. It is only thus that material and spiritual civilization can be made to complement each other and to develop in the right direction in a positive and stable manner.

Second, we must firmly and fearlessly uphold what is right and spurn what is evil. Due to the destructive acts committed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the continued existence of obsolete ways of thinking, and the erosion caused by the decadent ideas of the capitalist class, there exist at the present time certain undesirable trends and practices among some cadres and the masses. In order to overcome such undesirable tendencies, it is crucial that those in leadership positions at various levels should hold firm and stand united. We must give our unwavering support to those who are highly dedicated to socialism and communism and who are possessed of moral rectitude, and we must use various propaganda means to extol their progressive ways of thinking and to create a favorable climate of public opinion. As for those who have gone astray, we must exercise great patience in offering them criticism and education so that they may be helped to mend their ways. As regards the criminal elements, we must wage a struggle against them and deal with them severely according to the law. It is only thus that we can uphold what is right and put an end to what is perverse, and it is only thus that we can forge fearlessly ahead like a powerful liner surging forward with the prevailing wind.

Furthermore, all cadres must dedicate themselves to the service of the people and set themselves up as role models in a spiritual civilization. Our party is the ruling party. Many cadres are party members, and many party members are in leadership positions at various levels. Their every word and action has vast repercussions. So that the flower of spiritual civilization may blossom forth among the people of the province, it is important, as was aptly put by a number of delegates, that "those in leadership positions at various levels should set a personal example and take the lead." We must do well wherein we expect others to do well, and we must refrain from doing what we expect others to refrain from doing. The crux of the problem hinges on total dedication to service. It is only when cadres are dedicated to the service of the people that they can win their support and that the masses, convinced that they are truly the masters of their country, can summon up a positive socialist attitude in the implementation of the various construction projects.

The situation is improving year by year. Let us take advantage of this new situation to implement the spirit of the fourth conference of the Fifth National People's Congress, to exert greater efforts, to bring about the establishment of a spiritual civilization in the realm of thought, and to win a greater victory than last year's!

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PARTY AND STATE

JOURNAL DISCUSSES 'FAIRNESS' OF LAW

Nei Monggol JILIN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF JILIN DAXUE] in Chinese No 6, 6 Nov 81 pp 67-68

[Article by Wang Zilin [3769 1311 3829]: "'Fairness' Is not an Inherent Characteristic of Law"]

[Text] To arrive at a correct understanding of a certain thing, we must expose the inner laws that govern it. What we mean by inner laws are the inherent relationships in its essential qualities. What are the inner laws of that social phenomenon, the law? Some reply: "It is nothing else but that law must maintain 'fairness.'"

This interpretation is not at all new. It was expounded from the times before the advent of Marxism up to the present day, in China as well as abroad. In China the ancient character "fa" (law) was interpreted as meaning "equitable" and "perfectly fair and just." This later led to such pronouncements as "The high value of law is its being equitable and straight," and "The high value of statutes is their being equal and uniform," which may be reduced to the saying that law must not deviate from fairness and equality. The situation is the same in other countries. The cover of the Napoleonic Code, published in France in 1804, depicts a stately woman holding a sword in her right hand and a scale in her left hand, signifying righteousness and equity of law. Although there are a great many schools in modern and contemporary Western jurisprudence and a wide variety of legal theories, all rely on such generalities as "justice at all times" and "impartiality in all acts." This shows that the question of the "inner laws" of law as being "fairness" has actually been overwhelmingly current among legal circles for many years in ancient and modern times, in China as well as in other countries, but this is not at all scientific. Engels regarded using the terms "just and equitable" as "leading to confusion beyond remedy." It is, therefore, always wrong to link up fairness and law, from whatever angle one views the question.

Marxism considers law to be an expression of the will of the ruling class. Its content is determined by the material living conditions of the ruling class, that means, determined by the material interests of the ruling class. However, the interests of the ruling class are diametrically opposed to the interests of the ruled class, and whatever is beneficial to the

interests of the ruling class is, of course, harmful to the interests of the ruled class. Since this is so, how can the law, the norms of which must be observed throughout the entire society, have a character of fairness? Even though certain provisions of the law, objectively, also benefit the ruled class, the premise of such benefits is of course that they also benefit the interests of the ruling class. Essentially, it is law that benefits the interests of the ruling class, but is declared to be of general fairness. Isn't that merely obfuscating the class character of law? Once law is bereft of its class character, it can not be called law anymore.

Some people may hold this kind of an opinion: The fairness of law, of which we speak, refers to the application of the law. In the face of law, we "must not admit personal considerations or individual exceptions," which in the end is the principle of "equality of all persons before the law."

However, even if so, has there ever been this kind of fairness throughout the long history of legal practice? It is true, Shang Yang advocated "classlessness of law," and Han Fei propounded that "law must not pander to those in high positions," but in a feudal society all this remained merely legalist theory. It could never be carried out in actual practice. When Prince Si (son of King Xiao of the Qin Dynasty; Si later became King Hui of the Qin Dynasty) violated the new law, it was none other than Shang Yang, the advocate of the "classlessness of law," who could not carry out the principle of not distinguishing as to class and passing impartial judgment, although he was at that time in the high position of a minister with decisive powers at Court and in the country at large. He did not dare punish the crown prince but rather punished his tutor, Prince Qian, instead by having his nose cut off, thus concluding the affair in a rather perfunctory manner. The reason is that in those days neither the production relations nor the social relations provided conditions for the implementation of "classlessness" in law. It was precisely as one of the classical writers of Marxism pointed out: "As long as the relations had not yet developed to the degree of allowing the will to be put into practice, the emergence of that 'will' remained a fact only in the imagination of the thinkers." It could not attain realization.

Bourgeois law propagates "equality of all persons before the law," but is this equality fair and just? Not at all. The so-called equality before the law is merely an equality in form and inequality in substance. Having the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, alike, observe the same equality of law which expresses the will and the interests of the bourgeoisie, is in itself an inequality. Furthermore, equality must be manifested not only in law, but also in the social and economic field, otherwise there cannot be real equality. On this topic Engels pointed out: "Since the principle of equality is curiously reduced to an 'equality before the law,' and the equality before the law is an equality under the precondition of the inequality between the rich and the poor, and since it is an equality within a sphere of inequalities that are presently most important, it virtually amounts, briefly but comprehensively, to calling inequality equality." Can this kind of unequal "equality" be called fair?

Actually, even in the application of the law, there is no fairness to speak of. Outwardly, the bourgeois law has high-sounding provisions which during the actual application of the law, are not necessarily carried out conscientiously. "At every possible occasion, they will violate the provisions of the law, but will still insist that everybody else must observe these provisions." In the bourgeois countries, all the judges and members of the jury are wealthy people, all come from the propertied classes and are imbued with the consciousness of the exploiting class. Instinctively, they protect their own kind and adopt a hostile attitude toward poor people. "The poor are not tried by people of their own kind; they are always tried by their deadly enemies." Poverty, itself, already subjects them to difficulties and cruel ill-treatment in a hundred and one ways, how can we here speak of fairness? That is why Engels indignantly exclaimed: "In these respects, the application of the law is even much less humane than the law itself." Bourgeois law is already sufficiently inhumane. As there is even less humaneness in the application of the law, how can there be any fairness?

Perhaps people who hold this view will regard socialist law as a model of fairness and point out: As it is wrong to call any law of the exploiting class fair, is it also wrong to say that socialist law is fair? We say this is exactly the truth.

Surely, socialist law really demands "equality of all persons before the law" and will not tolerate that anyone places himself above the law or claim privileges beyond the law. The law treats all persons equally and without discrimination, and recognizes that every person has equal rights. Does this constitute fairness? No. We know that every right is preconditioned by inequality, because "every right is the application of the same standard on different persons, it is applied to persons who are different in actual conditions and positions. 'Equal right' therefore becomes unequal and unfair."

This condition cannot be avoided during the historical stage of socialism and during the existence of socialist law. Marx said: "To avoid all these evils, rights must not be equal, but must be unequal." This shows that "equality of all persons before the law" in bourgeois society as well as in socialist society is only an equality of rights, and the equality of rights is precisely an inequality and unfairness in actual facts. It is therefore not possible to say, a law that recognizes equality of rights is fair. This applies not only to bourgeois law, but even socialist law is no exception.

From these facts we see that fairness is not a characteristic of law and also is not an inner rule inherent in all law, but it is something that scholars who are embracing idealism have forcibly impressed on the concept of law. In a strict sense, law and fairness are opposites; they run counter to each other. The two cannot exist side by side. If one were forcibly to impose the rule of fairness on law, it would certainly lead to an erroneous comprehension of the essential character of law itself. This would be extremely harmful to the application of the Marxist scientific legal viewpoint in the study of jurisprudence and law.

What exactly then is the inert character of law? Expressed briefly but comprehensively, it is that law must express and manifest the will of a certain ruling class of the society concerned, and that the content of this will must again be determined by the material life of the ruling class.

This means that law does not express the will of certain people, but represents the interests of one class, the will of that particular class that occupies a ruling position. Outwardly, this will appears to be completely free, free to follow completely this class' own inclinations, running wild and unbridled. "Seen from a viewpoint that is incompatible with concepts related to state law and social production conditions, those laws would of course be fully arbitrary commands, which could easily be replaced by directly opposite commands at any time." However, this is not the reality. This will of the ruling class, incorporated in law, is restricted by the material living conditions of the class. The will shaped by the ruling class and the laws which will be formulated are determined by the production relations, the level of the productive force and mode of exchanges of that class at the time in question. This in fact is the inner law which applies unswervingly to law of whatever type it may be.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGZHOU UNITS LEADERSHIP SETS EXAMPLE IN WORK STYLE

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Zheng Suihua [6774 4482 5478]: "Leadership Organs of Guangzhou Units Take the Lead in Changing Work Style"]

[Text] In building socialist spiritual civilization, the leadership organs of the Guangzhou Units, starting with themselves and starting with the present time, have changed the organs' ideological work style and provided an example to the units in building socialist spiritual civilization.

The principal leading comrades of the Guangzhou Units have paid full attention to the building of spiritual civilization. Every department of the organs has integrated its jobs, sought out weak links, and formulated specific measures for building spiritual civilization. Through the launching of activities to build socialist spiritual civilization, the headquarters, political and logistical organs have become geared to the needs of the basic level and have a good atmosphere of serving the units. In its liaison with subordinate units, face to face or by telephone, the headquarters staff is always warmly receptive and amiable and tries hard to satisfy the other party's requests. If they are temporarily unable to solve a problem, they patiently and clearly explain the reason. The materiel subdepartment of the logistics department regularly organizes its personnel to go to a unit and investigate the situation there, taking the initiative to distribute all kinds of material and resolve the unit's difficulties. The cultural affairs subdepartment of the political department, on hearing the request by the garrison unit at Fakashan for more articles for cultural life, immediately sent a batch of books and chess and weiqi sets to the Fakashan position.

Good practices have also gradually been formed in the service work of the organs. The service section of the political department has restored the tradition of delivering goods to the door. Every day the section dispatches a mobile shop to each office building and living quarters area so that articles of daily use can be purchased. The mess hall personnel of the headquarters, political, and logistical organs regularly take the initiative to go to dining tables and meal-preparation units to solicit opinions, and they make an effort to provide good food at low cost. The outpatient departments of the organs have launched "good service month" activities, setting up sickbeds in the home and providing door-to-door care and medicine,

thereby improving the quality of medical service. Every Sunday and holiday, the leading comrades of the headquarters personally take the lead in having personnel concerned go into the streets and each compound to inspect the soldiers' bearing, appearance, and discipline; the organs have restored the system of early operation; except in special circumstances, the cadres of the organs go to work and leave work on schedule, and if they report back after their absence, and they do not attend to private matters when on duty. They also set aside days for sweeping and hygiene activities in which they practice the hygiene responsibility system, so as to keep the offices clean and neat.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

WANG ZHEN , LIAO ZHENGZHI CELEBRATE SPRING FESTIVAL ON HAINAN

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Xing Zenggan [6717 1073 1626] et al.: "Wang Zhen, Liao Zhengzhi Go to Hainan Island To Convey Greetings to the Broad Masses of Armysmen and Civilians on the Eve of the Spring Festival"]

[Text] Wang Zhen, member of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee and member of the Standing Committee of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee, and Liao Zhengzhi, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, on behalf of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, came to Hainan Island on the eve of the Spring Festival to convey greetings to the broad masses of army-men and civilians, encouraging all of them to strengthen unity and work hard so as to obtain even greater successes in the new year.

Accompanied by leading comrades of the local party, government, and armed forces--Zhang Rihe [1728 2480 0735], Liang Cheng, Chen Shufeng [7115 2579 7685] (Li nationality), Li Peng, Nie Kuiju [5119 1145 5112], and Wang Chaoyu [3769 2600 3768]--they began their greeting activities on 20 January. On successive days, they went to the Yulin naval base, a certain naval air unit, a battalion of a certain army division that is on garrison duty in the western part of the island, the Ximaozhou production brigade of a commune that engages in fishery in the South China Sea, new villages, ports, and fishing villages in Linshui County, as well as party and government organizations in Linshui County. Through meetings, forums, and individual visits, they listened to reports on, and asked about, the situation in the military units with regard to their military and political construction and their industrial and agricultural production and the situation in the life of the masses. They also saw the guided missile corvette designed and built by our country and an artillery demonstration. They were extremely pleased that the broad masses of militarymen and civilians of Hainan are upholding the four basic principles; are thoroughly implementing the party's line, principles, and policies since the third plenary session; have made achievements in preparatory work for modernization of the units and in military and political training; as well as that an excellent situation obtains with regard to the rapid development of agricultural and fishing production and to the continual improvement of the commune members' life. On behalf of the party Central Committee, comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi congratulated and greeted all

the people. Comrade Wang Zhen said that in the past year the party and government, militarymen and civilians had united as one to score victories in defending the motherland and in building up Hainan and had performed meritorious service and labor. He wished all of them a joyful Spring Festival and good health. The people of Hainan have a glorious history of struggle. During the great revolution, under the leadership of the party they launched revolutionary struggle, and their glorious history of struggle is part of the glorious history of China's struggle. He hoped the broad masses of militarymen and civilians would display the glorious revolutionary traditions in the new year, strengthening army-government unity and army-people unity, obtaining even greater successes in military building and socialist economic construction, and performing new meritorious services and labor in defending the motherland and developing and constructing Hainan. Comrade Liao Zhengzhi also encouraged everybody by saying that our country achieved very big successes last year. In 1982, we must surpass last year. Whether in economic construction, whether in struggle against all unhealthy tendencies within the party, whether in the united front against international hegemonism, whether promoting the return of Taiwan to the motherland, or whether in realizing the motherland's great cause--in all of these aspects we must obtain even greater successes than we did last year. We must make still further progress. We must study well and make persistent efforts to build up Hainan Island even better and raise the level of modernizing the units to an even higher level. We believe, he concluded, that the broad masses of Hainan's militarymen and civilians will conscientiously implement the spirit of the party's Central Committee's third and sixth plenary sessions, carry forward the revolutionary tradition, work hard, and make even greater contributions to the construction of socialist modernization.

The cordial greetings of Comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi greatly encouraged the broad masses of militarymen and civilians. They indicated that in the new year they would further carry forward the revolutionary tradition, strengthen unity, struggle hard, quicken the pace of Hainan's development and construction, defend Hainan and the Xisha Islands, and with practical actions repay the care of the party Central Committee, putting it and the people at ease in their minds!

Last evening, comrades Wang Zhen and Liao Zhengzhi, at a certain division on garrison duty in Hainan, attended with the militarymen and civilians a Spring Festival celebration party, and watched an artistic performance together with leading comrades of the party, government and army, celebrating the joyous festival together with them.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ZHAO ZIYANG, YANG DEZHI VISIT BEIJING GARRISON REGIMENT

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Xing Zenggan [6717 1073 1626] et al.: "Zhao Ziyang, Yang Dezhi Visit Officers and Men of a Certain Regiment Under the Beijing Garrison Command"]

[Text] Today Premier Zhao Ziyang and [PLA] Chief of Staff Yang Dezhi went to garrison fighters in the capital to extend Spring Festival greetings to them. Shortly after 9 am, when the two leaders riding in a bakery truck arrived at the unit, they were warmly welcomed by the officers and men.

Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi happily gathered under the same roof with the officers and men; they made detailed inquiries about the situation regarding the unit's training, building of spiritual civilization, demobilization of veterans, and recruitment of new soldiers. The responsible person of the unit reported that in the past year, especially after Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, the building up of the unit made great progress, the work in all aspects improved, and many good fighters of the Lei Feng type emerged. Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi said that last year the unit had got a tight grip on the study of the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and had unswervingly and thoroughly implemented the party Central Committee's principles and policies. The successes obtained in building up the unit were the result of the party Central Committee's correct leadership.

Zhao Ziyang and Yang Dezhi also went to the fighters' living quarters and the company clubs and acquainted themselves with the fighters' study, life, and recreation.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LEADING CADRES IMPROVE TRAINING OF FUZHOU UNITS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 82 p 1

[Report by XINHUA correspondents Yang Hefa [2799 0736 4099] and Xu Haowen [1776 1170 2429]: "Marked Improvement in Operational Capability of Units"]

[Text] Fuzhou, 1 Jan (XINHUA)--Leading cadres at all levels of the Fuzhou PLA Units have obtained marked successes by becoming closely involved with reality and conscientiously getting a good handle on military training.

We correspondents learned from the recent conference on education and training held by the Fuzhou Units: in 1981, the infantry of the Fuzhou Units received a general assessment of excellent for its achievements in live-ammunition weapons firing; in many specialized technical items, the level of the various service arms of the units rose one to two grades; new breakthroughs were achieved in some tactical training items; and there was a marked improvement in the ability to command coordinated operations by all service arms.

In the past year, leading cadres at each level of the Fuzhou Units have displayed the revolutionary spirit of the war years, bent down to their tasks, and striven to get a good handle on training. According to an investigation, last year throughout all the units there were over 1,000 cadres at regimental level or above on the frontline of training; together with the other cadres and fighters, they crawled, climbed, rolled, and attacked, studying and researching all sorts of problems in modern military operations. Each division and regiment has set up an "experimental ground;" many subunits have put into practice the system of "contracting at the beginning of training to achieve results on a given topic within a limited time" for leading cadres, which puts the responsibility on the individual. Based on the demands of modern warfare, certain divisions have worked out five key subjects in which the leading cadres of the division contract to make breakthroughs. After deputy division commander Zhang Jianmin [1728 1696 3046] had made a contract on the topic of firing a rocket launcher at a moving tank, he went to the training site, led gunners to repeatedly drill with the weapon, study relevant scientific knowledge, search for laws governing the operation, and take part in over 50 training discussions, which raised the division-wide rate of hits scored on tanks by 100 percent over last year's rate. Wang Xikun [3769 6932 0981], commander of a certain division, in order to improve his ability to

organize and command units in wartime, on six occasions this year led organizational cadres out of the barracks into the field for training, during which they covered several hundreds of li. He posited the military situation and then guided them to train in it, imparting bit by bit experience in actual warfare, so that the leading organizations of the division rapidly improved their ability to direct combat training.

In order to improve firing accuracy, the leading cadres of each anti-aircraft artillery unit led the officers and men in assiduously studying mathematics and relevant scientific knowledge and in conscientiously conducting research on the best trajectories for firing into the sky. The leading cadres at the regimental level and above of a certain anti-aircraft artillery division conducted tests at selected points. After four experiences in hitting the target accurately, last year they again went down to the basic levels and provided guidance by categories, thereby effectively improving the unit's ability in surface-to-air combat. At the end of last year, the anti-aircraft artillery troops took part in a live-ammunition firing test in which the pass rate was 100 percent and for which they obtained a general assessment of excellent.

In the process of overcoming key points and difficult points, the leading cadres at all levels of the Fuzhou Units were adept in using their heads and bold in searching for fresh experiences. Xu Lianfa [6079 6647 3127], commander of a certain division, integrated the study of foreign military conditions and organized his units to repeatedly carry out confrontational training, which added more clarity and focus to the training topics. In July of last year, the leading organizations of the Fuzhou Units convened an on-the-spot meeting at this division and called on each unit to learn from the division's experiences. Wang Zhaokun [3769 2507 0981], the deputy commander of a certain army, in order to help staff officers carry out good training in strategy, put a good deal of time and effort into studying "Sun Bin's Art of War" and other ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign works on military theory. He led the staff personnel to interview old cadres who had personally gone through many battles. They gathered and arranged 50 examples of battle strategies. Integrating the special features of coordinated operations by all service arms, they compiled teaching materials of over 100,000 Chinese characters and gave them to everybody to learn from and study. He also led the staff officers to train in judging what measures to take under conditions of different terrain, weather, and enemy situations. After a little over a month of practice, not only did the units amass experiences in strategy training, but also over 80 staff officers raised their level of strategy.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SUBMARINE'S LONG-RANGE TRAINING CRUISE DESCRIBED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 21 Jan 82 p 2

[Article in the "Great Wall of Steel" column by Juang Yaonian [7806 1031 1628] et al.: "Record of a Submarine in the Depths of the High Seas"]

[Text] Deep black night, blowing snow fills the air. A certain submarine or our People's Navy leaves a naval port, and like a great whale bores into the depths of the ocean.

The Captain's Smile

From seaman to captain, nobody had ever gone on such a long voyage. How many dangers on this journey under the sea and what kind of a dreamlike life they would lead, nobody could conjecture. The seamen had only one desire: to risk their lives for the motherland. As the submarine cruised under the blue waves, its body frequently shook. Ren Jiakuí [0117 1367 1145], the youthful captain, holding the periscope, gazed intently at the surface of the sea, which was dotted with blowing snow. Light-buoys and fishing lamps, like stars in the sky, shifted gradually. He knew that the submarine was already cruising under a fishing ground and if he let a fishing net get tangled up in the submarine's propeller or elevator, the long-voyage plan would fall through. He directed the submarine so that it carefully and cautiously avoided the fishing lights.

The submarine with agility threaded its way through this "marine city without night." Just as Ren Jiakuí was thinking of relaxing, he saw through the periscope another black shadow loom up head-on. What bad luck! It was a fishing boat that was not abiding by the rules as there was not a single light burning on the boat! Ren Jiakuí hurriedly gave the order—"Full right rudder!" The submarine made a sharp turn and steered clear of the boat.

After cruising for several days, the submarine came to a certain training area. The higher level had demanded that they pass through it with the utmost secrecy. If the submarine was spotted as a target, it would have failed its first test on the long voyage, because a submarine's fighting effectiveness lies in its ability to hide and then suddenly attack the enemy.

How difficult! In this area many radar sets were sweeping the sea and ships were moving about on the surface. However, the seamen were extremely self-confident, because they had an astute commander. He commanded a new Chinese-built submarine, and in less than half a year he had led the submarine to complete seven training topics. The fleet leadership was somewhat less confident in him, and had ordered the submarine to take part in a competition with over 10 other submarines. To everyone's surprise, this submarine took first honors.

In order to pass through undetected, Ren Jiakui had issued three orders: first, before submerging beneath the blue waves, there would be no swimming and no dumping of rubbish overboard; second, the use of detectible instruments was forbidden, and radar and radio silence was maintained; and third, power would be conserved as much as possible by not using air conditioners or electric fans and by preparing only one meal a day. Very quickly, the "season" in the cabins changed from autumn to the dog days of the hot season, and the mercury in the thermometer rose to 43 degrees centigrade. Everybody was bathed in sweat....

As the submarine passed through the training area, it constantly picked up radar signals. Ren Jiakui calmly analyzed each one of them, and discovered that these radar sets were making circular searches and were not tracking by sector. He could see that the radar had not discovered the underwater submarine.

Minute by minute, Ren Jiakui stayed by the periscope for a long time in order to avoid these radar sweeps. When the chief navigator reported to him, "The submarine has passed through successfully," he first allowed himself to smile pleasantly, "Ah," and switching on the electric fan above his head, gave the order, "Turn on the air conditioners!"

Immediately, all the seamen shouted with jubilation.

Oh, Petrels!

The calm and mysterious unfathomable sea. For several days in succession, one could not see through the periscope a single ship or bird, making the crew feel the monotony and dullness of the scene. Suddenly, Deputy Captain Jin [6855] spotted a petrel in a white breaker. He couldn't help shouting: "Look, a petrel!" The atmosphere in the command module immediately became animated as everyone in it vied to be the first to see the petrel.

The submarine was far away from the petrel and could not be seen; what remained in the periscope was again blackish-green sea water and white breakers. Suddenly Ren Jiakui heard a jingling sound outside the submarine. He decided that surging waves had broken a piece of the hand railing, which was not hanging down on a steel cable and could become entangled in the elevator or propeller; it would be easy for the submarine to be detected if it produced this metallic striking sound so, no matter how it was done, the railing must be cut loose.

"Captain, I'll go!" Boatswain Chen Yanping [7115 1484 1627] stepped forward. Ren Jiakui understood in his heart that this would be an extremely dangerous job and there was a possibility of the man doing it being swept overboard by the wind and the waves. In this situation, the skipper could only pick the best seaman. He approved Chen Yanping's request.

The submarine floated on the surface of the sea as huge waves flew past the conning tower. Chen Yanping fastened a safety line around his waist and firmly grasped a fire axe. Taking advantage of a moment when the hull was level, he rushed toward the bow. Just as he was standing firmly he was hit by a breaking wave and the bow was buried in the sea. "Oh my God!" everybody exclaimed, thinking that he had been swept overboard by the huge wave, but when the bow rose from the wave they saw Chen Yanping standing erect on top. With one hand gripping the broken railing, he pushed it down to the deck and, with a clanging sound, chopped it loose and threw it into the sea. Just as he was about to return, another huge wave closed in and everybody shouted: "Look out. A wave's coming!" With his two hands Chen Yanping clung to the submarine, waited until the huge wave had rolled over him, shook the water off himself and returned to the conning tower. Everybody shouted in unison: The petrel has returned!

One by one the calendar pages flipped by, and life under the blue waves became more and more difficult. The continual rocking of the boat like a swing, seasickness and not seeing sunlight for a long time made the seamen depressed and vexed; the continually had bad dreams and all day long went around in a semitrance.

Then, suddenly from the galley wafted a fragrant smell. Smiles immediately appeared on the faces of the seamen. Whoever poked his head into the galley and looked found that what smelled made his mouth water: How fragrant!

Cook Chen Yuming [7115 3768 2494] was frying oil cakes. In the galley the smoke of frying oil swirled up and the temperature reached 45 degrees centigrade. Young Chen was bathed in sweat. He drew a breath and fried several dozen of the floury oil cakes. By the time the seamen had eaten the fragrant cakes he was exhausted. Although he hadn't eaten a bite himself, he was smiling.

Looking at the Moon From the Depths of the High Seas

A week passed in the depths of the high seas. All the seamen thought of seeing what the far ocean looked like, and someone suggested that they take photographs of it as a memento. But this was hard to do; the mission demanded absolute concealment. However, the seamen very much wanted to look at the ocean. Feeling this urge in their hearts, some seamen quietly crowded into the sonar room and silently listened to the mysterious language of the schools of fishes at the bottom of the ocean. The hearts of the youths soon flew through the iron blockade and roamed the sea.

Captain Ren thought of a good idea. He let each cabin send a representative to look at the ocean scene through the periscope. The seamen were extremely pleased.

It was a still night. In the spotless sky hung a bright moon, its crystalline rays shining on the surface of the sea, and everything was shrouded in dim moonlight and mystery. Taking turns to look at the scene, the windows of their hearts were opened one by one. Looking at the moon, sky and ocean, how could these young men, who had left the naval port several dozens of days ago, not be moved?

One day at dawn, the submarine returned to the territorial waters of the motherland. Once the submarine captain for the first time the light-buoys and white sails of the motherland, intense emotion welled up in his breast: "Motherland, we have returned from our long voyage!"

A few days later, the submarine was floating on the surface of the sea. One by one the seamen came up through the hatch and stood on the deck. With tears on their eyes, they solemnly saluted the coast and fishing boats of the motherland. From the radio came Su Xiaoming's song "Mama, We Have Returned From a Long Voyage...."

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DECISIVE PROGRESS IN POLITICS, LAW URGED FOR 1982

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 1

[Article by Reporter: "Strive for Decisive Progress in Political and Legal Work This Current Year"]

[Text] Let us wage a struggle for decisive progress in the field of politics and law this current year. That was the central theme of discussion at a meeting of the chiefs of public security, the procuratorate, and the people's court of the province called by the Provincial Public Security Bureau, the Provincial Procuratorate, and the Provincial People's Supreme Court on New Year's Eve.

At the meeting, the chiefs of the Public Security Bureau, the procuratorate, and the people's court of the province conveyed to those in attendance the spirit of the three national conferences, summed up the work experience of the past year, and mapped out a plan of action for the current year.

Under the leadership of the party committee, the political and legal organizations at various levels in the province, in making the improvement of public security their chief mission, did a great deal of work last year and achieved some creditable results. There have been various degrees of improvement in public order in the cities and villages and within the various units throughout the province. That is chiefly borne out by the gradual decline in the number of criminal cases. Implementation of the policy of dealing severely and promptly with criminal cases according to the law has brought about a change in the phenomenon of dealing leniently with cases involving murder, arson, robbery, rape, the use of explosives, and other serious crimes endangering public order. Such regions as Hanzhong and Baoji, which have been the major areas of crime, have salvaged the situation by dealing promptly and severely with criminal elements who had sought to exploit the situation and by ensuring the stability of social order. There has been an increased feeling of security among the masses and a more positive attitude on the part of the masses to wage a struggle against criminal elements. It was unanimously agreed among those attending the meeting, however, that although public security in our province has taken a turn for the better, the progress has been spotty and a number of problems, some of a very serious nature, still remain.

It was agreed by those attending the meeting that in order to bring about a decisive improvement in the political and legal areas, it will be necessary to come to grips with the following tasks: 1) There must be a new breakthrough in

dealing with the entire problem. 2) A serious effort must be made to solve major cases and to deal with the culprits sternly and promptly. 3) Continued efforts must be made to improve security within the units. 4) A better job must be done at the basic levels. 5) The work of reform and education through labor must be improved. 6) A determined effort must be made to deal severely with illegal and criminal activities in the economic area. 7) A determined effort must be made to deal with counterrevolutionary acts of sabotage. 8) A greater effort must be made to establish a corps of political and legal rank-and-file workers.

Yan Kelun [0917 0344 0243], secretary of the provincial party committee, gave an important address at the meeting. Speaking of the strengthening of party leadership in political and legal work, he said that party committees at various levels must put the target of the struggle for decisive progress in political and legal work as an important item on the agenda of the party committee, that ideological and political work on the political and legal front must be strengthened, that the cadres in the police force must continue to be organized to study the "Resolution" in depth, and that the thinking of large numbers of cadres in the police force must be truly unified so that they may be identical to the line, policies, and principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the spirit of the "Resolution," and so that they may also be in line with the political stand of the Central Committee. He added that words and actions which run counter to the four basic principles, the liberalization trend of the capitalist class, and unlawful acts and violations of the law must be dealt with fearlessly, that criticism must be directed and a struggle waged fearlessly against the guilty parties, and that culprits must absolutely not be appeased or accommodated or allowed to do as they please. He further pointed out that the party committee's policy of strengthening political and legal work and of exercising leadership in the implementation of the policy does not in any way interfere with the exercise of autonomous powers by the political and legal organizations, but that the main function of the party committee is to check on and exercise supervision over the political and legal organizations and to see that they faithfully implemented the policies and principles of the party. He explained that while it was not the job of the party committee to review ordinary cases, it would still concern itself with and take part in the deliberation of major cases of a difficult or controversial nature; that the political and legal organizations should report to and seek instructions and guidance from the party committee without delay; that the party committee should respect the autonomous powers bestowed on the political and legal organizations by law; and that the party committee should not monopolize or take over the normal duties of the political and legal organizations. He finally emphasized that, under the leadership of the party committee, the Public Security Bureau, the procuratorate, and the court should exercise mutual restraint, establish close cooperation, and wage a struggle in a coordinated manner.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MARXIST PRINCIPLE ON NATIONALITIES QUESTION DISCUSSED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Mingqian [2799 2494 0467]: "A Basic Principle of Marxism To Handle Nationality Questions"]

[Text] Adhering to the equality between nationalities, strengthening unity among the various nationalities, and opposing all forms of oppression and discrimination against any nationality is the basic principle of Marxism for handling nationality problems. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of Our State" passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee implemented this principle on nationality problems and, in accordance with the actual conditions of our various nationalities at present, made this principle concrete and also provided new regulations. These regulations are bound to have a profound and far-reaching influence on the unification of the thinking and behavior of the whole party and the people of various nationalities in the whole country, on the improvement and development of the socialist relations among the nationalities in our multinationality state as well as the strengthening of the unity among these nationalities.

Marxism holds that because of different historical conditions, there exist in the long process of development of the various nationalities some distinctions between those that are large in number and those that are small and between those that are advanced and those that are backward; but there is definitely no distinction as to superior and inferior, or nobler and humbler. All nations have made beneficial contributions to the progressive cause of mankind, have learned from and exchanged with one another, have promoted progress in social, political, economic and cultural respects, and have enjoyed equal status. Stalin said: "Every nation, big or small, has some characteristics that represent its own essential quality and some special qualities that belong only to that nation and not to any other nation. These characteristics constitute the very contributions each nation makes to the common treasury of world culture; they serve to supplement and enrich it. In this sense, all nations, big or small, enjoy equal status, and each nation is just as important as any other nation" ("Selected Articles of Stalin," p 507).

Our great motherland has historically been a multinationality state. The various nationalities developed the country's vast territory in common, created

their prosperous economy and brilliant culture in common, and promoted the advancement of history in common. In their common development, the various nationalities forged their own respective characteristics and united to become the Chinese nation. For this reason, the relations between our various nationalities should be equal, should be those of unity and mutual assistance and those of friendship and cooperation.

Adhering to the principles of equality and unity among the various nationalities is also a requirement for the proletariat to accomplish its own historical mission. In a society ruled by exploitative classes, the toiling people of no nationality can enjoy freedom. The system of exploitation based on private ownership is the root source engendering the oppression of, and discrimination against, some nationalities. Only by overthrowing the rule of the exploitative classes, establishing a socialist state in which the people are masters in their own house, and further realizing the foresighted goal of communism can enable the proletarians and toiling people of the various nationalities to cast off forever the fate of being subject to exploitation and oppression. This historical mission of the proletariat can be realized only by unity among the various nationalities. Therefore, the proletariat is firmly opposed to all policies of the exploitative classes aiming at oppression of some nationalities and division of the nationalities and insists on the principles of equality and unity among the nationalities.

The establishment of our socialist system has brought to fruition and consolidated the great unity among the various nationalities of the country. But in order to accomplish the great historical mission of the proletariat, to eliminate the de facto inequality between the various nationalities, we must energetically develop our productive forces and realize the construction of socialist modernization. In a unitary multinationality state such as ours, while the population of the minority nationalities makes up only 6 percent of the country's total, the area of their distribution is nonetheless very extensive, as it makes up about 60 percent of the country's total. If we fail to improve and develop the relations between the nationalities and fail to adhere to equality between the nationalities or to forge their unity well, then realization of the four modernizations will become empty words. In the meantime, in order to build our country into a socialist modern power, we must have a good social order and a political situation of stability and unity. The more than 21,000 kilometers of our borderline of defense are mostly inhabited by our minority nationalities; their strategic position is very important. Only by adhering to equality and unity among the nationalities can we consolidate our national defense and create the condition for smoothly carrying out the construction of our modernization. Apart from this, historically speaking, the way relations between the various nationalities was handled has often made a difference between security and danger, governance and disturbance, in the country. Therefore, forging good relations between the nationalities and adhering to unity among the nationalities are of great significance. Lenin pointed out incisively: "Whoever fails to acknowledge national equality and linguistic equality, or fails to struggle against various kinds of national oppression and inequality, is not a Marxist or even a democrat. This is beyond any doubt" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 12, p 11).

Our party has adhered to the Marxist principles of equality and unity among the nationalities. After the establishment of New China, the party and the state, basing themselves on the actual conditions of the various nationalities, made these principles concrete and further formulated and carried out a series of policies, decrees, and measures on adhering to equality between the nationalities and strengthening unity among the nationalities. From the "Common Program" of the early period of the founding of the state to the several constitutions promulgated by the various sessions of the National People's Congress, pertinent articles have all been clearly provided. In order to assure the minority nationalities their right to participate in the management of state affairs on an equal status, the party and the state have taken special care of the quota of delegates from the minority nationalities participating in the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at the various levels. The ratio of such minority nationality delegates usually exceeds the ratio each such minority nationality enjoys in the country's total population; this is to insure that all nationalities, including those with less than 1,000 in population, have their own delegates. Meanwhile, in areas where the minority nationalities live in compact communities, nationality regional autonomy is put into practice so as to enable them to exercise the right to manage the internal affairs of their respective nationalities in the great unified family of the motherland. Each minority nationality has the freedom to develop its own spoken and written language, is entitled to proceed with litigations and defense in court in its own spoken and written language; it has the freedom to preserve or reform its customs and habits, with no interference from others; it has the freedom to participate in people's groups and the various professions, which cannot reject anyone because of his nationality background. When members of a minority nationality encounter national discrimination or abuse, they have the freedom to lodge complaints with the people's government. The party and the state have also done their best to help the minority nationalities to gradually develop their economic and cultural construction and cause their material and cultural life to undergo fairly great changes. All this has helped turn the scores of minority nationalities, who were unrecognized by the reactionary ruling classes and who remained powerless in the past, into equal members of the great family of our socialist motherland; a new type of socialist national relations have thus been established among the toiling people of the various nationalities. The vast ranks of the people of the minority nationalities, consequently, have developed profound feelings toward our socialist motherland and toward the great Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and earnestly love and uphold them.

But "on the national question, we have in the past, especially during the 'cultural revolution,' made the serious mistake of expanding class struggle and injured many cadres and masses of the minority nationalities. In our work, we have accorded less than sufficient respect for the right to autonomy on the part of the minority nationalities. We must learn a serious lesson from this and take note of it." Taking advantage of our mistake, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary clique trampled on the Marxist basic principles of open national discrimination and national oppression, thus creating not a few sensational unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation and cruelly attacking and persecuting many good people. Under their interference and sabotage, the equal rights the various minority nationalities already

enjoyed were trampled under foot, and the unity among the nationalities was also seriously damaged. After the smashing of the "gang of four" counterrevolutionary clique, our country entered into a new period of historical development. The party time and again reiterated its policies regarding national equality and national unity and also adopted various measures in order to return to order from disorder on the national question; in particular, the Party Central Committee's 1980 decision on the question of our work in Tibet made it possible once again for our nationalities work to exude a thriving outlook in its forward development, and the cause of our national equality and national unity is thus provided with a new vista under the new situation. The party's "Resolution" conscientiously summed up the experience and lessons of the many years of our nationalities work by clearly pointing out: "Today the relationship between our various nationalities is basically the relationship between the toiling people of these nationalities." It can be foreseen that, along with the implementation of the "Resolution" and along with the deepening progress of the construction of our socialist modernization, the relationship of equality and mutual assistance between our various nationalities will continue to be consolidated and developed forward.

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FREEDOM OF LITERARY, ARTISTIC CREATION DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 4 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Tang Xuezhí [3282 1331 2535]: "A Discussion on Freedom of Creation"]

[Text] At present, our party is just seriously strengthening its leadership over literary and art undertakings and placing an emphasis on correcting the tendency of bourgeois liberalization. "Will this hamper and restrict our freedom of creation?" This expression of concern is actually unnecessary.

In literary and artistic creation, the authors should be given the full freedom to select their subject matter and artistic forms and to proceed with their creation according to their respective singular perception and particular strong points in style; as Lenin said, it is "absolutely necessary to assure people a broad world of individual creativity and individual likes and a broad world of ideas and fantasies, forms and substance." But this freedom is definitely not anarchism in creation, definitely not bourgeois liberalization, and definitely not what Lenin criticized as that kind of "absolute freedom in creation according to sheer individualistic thinking." It can only be a process of consciously perceiving, grasping, and complying with the inevitable laws of literary and artistic creation, including goals of literary and artistic production, on the part of the authors, and the better such perception, grasp, and compliance, the more extensive will also be the freedom thus gained. Such real freedom of creation in the scientific sense is not only not in contradiction with the party's leadership over literary and artistic undertakings but, on the contrary, actually inseparable from party leadership, and it can be fully guaranteed only under the correct leadership of the party.

Freedom of creation can only be predicated upon the authors' political freedom: this is possible only under correct party leadership. The history of literary and art development indicates that truly free literature and art are devoted to society and to human life; they are related to the active and progressive classes, strata, and ideas in man's history and consistent in varying degrees with the wishes and demands of the people and historical trends; they are thus also protected, supported and praised by them. Precisely because of this, the reactionary ruling classes of all the dynasties as well as Lin Biao and the "gang of four" all had to practice reactionary cultural autocracy by

drafting political means (police, the law, etc) to aid them in limiting the authors' freedom. Many progressive writers, artists, and literary critics were subject to cruel attack and persecution; many fine creations were proscribed, and some simply could not even be published and were merely transmitted orally and by transcription in secrecy. Such reactionary oppression is a fundamental obstacle to freedom of creation, and the state apparatus of the proletarian dictatorship led by the Communist Party has precisely eliminated such an obstacle in this fundamental instance. Because it is the most advanced and greatest revolutionary party in human history, its social ideals, spirit, sentiments and world view not only represent the direction of man's historical development but also provide unprecedented new personalities, new ideas, and a world for man's literary and art development; because the great cause of revolution and construction in which it is engaged urgently requires brand new, multifarious, rich and colorful literary and art works to serve it, therefore it not only does not need to limit real freedom of creation but, on the contrary, finds it necessary to energetically promote and enthusiastically encourage such freedom and endeavor to struggle against those reactionary forces and erroneous tendencies endangering the freedom of creation and sabotaging literary and art development by applying its own correct political leadership. Since the founding of our state, while our party has had serious faults on this question, its basic orientation of promoting and developing new socialist literature and art has not changed; hence, after it perceived its mistakes in practice, it had the courage to struggle against them and to solemnly and conscientiously correct them. Such reliable political leadership is the fundamental guarantee for implementing real freedom of creation.

Freedom of creation requires good ideological and theoretical conditions; it is also inseparable from the party's leadership and training. Since freedom of creation depends on the authors to consciously perceive, grasp, and comply with the laws of literature and art, including the fundamental goals of literary and art production, this requires the authors necessarily to have correct political views, literary and artistic views, and thinking methods, to be armed with an advanced world view and scientific theory; only thus can they achieve a profound understanding of the complex, multifarious social phenomena and freely proceed with their typical generalization according to the laws of literature and art. If a correct ideological and theoretical basis is absent and we engage ourselves in literary and artistic creation only from the standpoint of our individual and small-group selfish desires and prejudices, then we are bound to embark upon the devious road of bourgeois liberalization. It was precisely in this sense that Lenin emphatically pointed out: the real freedom in literary and artistic undertakings is not naturally gained merely by politically casting off "police oppression"; authors are also required to thoroughly cast off "capital," "craving for fame and status," "bourgeois anarchist individualism" and such dirty things ideologically and theoretically, to establish an enthusiastic belief in the "socialist ideology" and the lofty goal of "serving hundreds and thousands of toiling people, these cream of the crop of the state, these forces of the state, and these representatives of the future of the state."

Practice proves that such correct ideology and theory with Marxism as its guide cannot take shape spontaneously by itself; it can only be the results of the

party's long efforts of education and training. Just look at the large contingent of fairly successful authors today, especially the middle-aged authors who constitute the core force: which one of them has not grown under the party's lengthy education? Even though many of them have suffered blows through mistakes, their thinking has never departed from the party's cause, their belief has never been separated from socialism, communism, their feelings have sided with the party and the people at all times, and their perception of the laws of literature and art and the goals of creation has been profound. Precisely because of this, they sense unprecedented freedom in their creation today, and they also demonstrate an exuberant, thriving capacity to create.

Apart from this, we must also see that, under the condition that class struggle and the influence of capitalist culture still exist, liberalization and anarchism in creation and various bourgeois literary and artistic ideas are bound to stubbornly manifest themselves under the pretext of freedom of creation; this would constitute a considerable interference with the freedom of creation. And if we wish to criticize in time and effectively such erroneous tendencies and eliminate such interference, we must also rely on the party's correct leadership. In the past few years, while a good situation prevailed in our literary circles, there also appeared certain expressions and works in contravention to the four basic principles, certain conspicuous petty-bourgeois sentimentalism, and low, vulgar descriptions of love and relations between the sexes, etc. These endanger the freedom of creation and the normal development of socialist literary and artistic undertakings. In stressing leadership over literary and artistic undertakings and actively launching correct literary and art criticism at present, the purpose of the party is precisely to eliminate interference in time in order to facilitate the prosperous development of our literary and artistic undertakings, and definitely not to limit or restrict such freedom.

A solemn people's author should fully recognize such a reliant relationship on the part of freedom of creation in respect to party leadership, and thereby consciously struggle against the tendencies of liberalization banking on weakening and casting off party leadership and against various bourgeois literary and artistic ideas. This is one aspect of the problem.

Another aspect is that, as far as the party's leading departments are concerned, we should also take sufficient note of the fact that in order to provide correct leadership over literature and art, we must resolutely carry out the principle of freedom of creation. This is because truly correct leadership can only be built on the basis of fully respecting the particular laws of literary and artistic production; as we depart from the objective laws of things, we also depart from Marxist science, and we are bound to make mistakes. The history of development of our socialist literature has both positively and negatively proved this truth.

In the spring of 1957, the Party Central Committee proposed the "double-hundred" principle; the formalistic and dogmatic mode of leadership then prevailing in literary and art circles was subject to due criticism, and freedom of creation was fairly well respected; this made it possible for literary and art productive power to experience a great liberation; a good situation of a

hundred flowers blooming and exuberant development soon emerged on the literary and art front. It was common knowledge that some tendencies of bourgeois liberalization, in fact, also appeared at the time. This was because class struggle and bourgeois literary and artistic ideas still existed and at the same time also because our party still lacked experience in exercising leadership. Ordinarily, if correct leadership could be adhered to, such erroneous tendencies would not have been very difficult to overcome. But while mistakes were criticized, extremist efforts were made to theoretically confuse bourgeois liberalization with freedom of creation and to place them together on the side opposite to the party and attack them, thus erroneously hurling blows against and hurting a contingent of talented shock troops in literary circles and new flowers in the literary garden.

As a result, the baby was also thrown away with the dirty water. Thereafter, not only this "leftist" erroneous tendency continued to exist but it even continued to develop and ultimately was utilized by the "gang of four" and became the theoretical weapon with which they pushed their cultural autocracy; thus socialist literary and artistic undertakings were subjected to unprecedented destruction. This was a profound historical lesson. Precisely in view of this, while stressing the overcoming of tendencies of bourgeois liberalization today, our party places emphasis on the strengthening of the party's leadership over literature and art on the one hand and on the improvement of party leadership itself on the other hand. This is correct as well as wise.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHAANXI POLITICAL LEADERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS, SHORTAGES

Xi'an SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 82 p 2

[Text] [Statement by Zhang Zhengshu [1728 2973 6615] and Zhu Ruiwen [2612 3843 2429], members of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "Control Over Quack Doctors Must Be Tightened"]

At the present time, there are a large number of quack doctors practicing in various areas. Some claim to be "herb doctors trained by their forebears specializing in internal medicine and surgery" and some display phony pennants and citations in order to sell bogus medicine and cheat the masses out of their money. They are guilty of malpractice and have caused the death of their patients. It is proposed that the provincial Bureau of Public Health and the bureaus of public health in the various areas should look into the problem and put a stop to the illegal practice of medicine and the sale of bogus drugs. A permit to practice medicine should be issued to those who are truly qualified and who have passed an examination. However, they must not be permitted to charge exorbitant fees.

[Statement by Li Cuilin [2621 5488 7792] and Wang Xiuhua [3769 4423 5478], members of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "We Must Do a Good Job of Discovering and Using Talented People"]

A technician in a certain factory who graduated from college in 1962 has a particular aptitude for technology. Because of certain family problems, he failed to be promoted to engineer. However, after having been assigned to another place, he was first promoted to engineer and then to chief engineer, and eventually he was appointed deputy mayor.

Implementation of the policy toward intellectuals is something which has been brought up for discussion year after year. However, further steps must be taken to examine and implement the policy, to make an appeal to the public, to adopt concrete measures, and to make sure that they are implemented. Only by finding a solution to real difficulties is it possible to solve the brain-drain problem. Aside from removing the difficulties resulting from the assignment of husbands and wives of the intellectual class to different areas, it is also necessary to give people correct titles. Instead of giving a title to a person according to his performance and contributions, some units make seniority the chief consideration in the assignment of titles, with the result that the same

title of engineer is given to everybody who has served for a certain number of years. In the evaluation of senior engineers, no change in title is made. This indiscriminate system of conferring titles cannot serve to activate a positive attitude on the part of intellectuals.

[Statement by Zhang Fengling [1728 7264 3781], Pan Songchen [3382 2646 6591], Yu Guangliang [0359 0342 5328], and Luo Zhiquan [5012 3112 0356], delegates to the Provincial People's Congress: "Do Not Show Movies That Poison the Young"]

Some movies and television programs are harmful to the young. Some movies and television programs show love scenes taking place in the enemy camp, on the battlefield, or inside a tank. Some young men are now in the habit of sporting a moustache and of wearing a knife in their belt, and young women are taking to wearing necklaces and earrings, putting rouge on their lips, and having plastic surgery done on their eyelids. All that is more or less due to the showing of unhealthy movies and television programs.

[Statement by Lou Jianyan [2869 1696 3601], delegate to the Provincial People's Congress: "Do Not Show Movies That Poison the Young"]

The elaborate wedding scenes and home decorations shown in some movies have no basis in reality. Young people tend to do what they see in the movies. They long to possess such things as tape recorders, cameras, television sets, record players, floorlamps, electric fans with adjustable stands, and sofas. Some young people have launched into a career of crime in order to satisfy their needs.

[Statement by Du Daoshi [2629 6670 2514], member of the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "An Emergency Call To Save the Forests in the Suburbs of Xianyang Municipality"]

During the past 20 years, the forests in the suburbs of Xianyang Municipality have been severely damaged. For example, the ancient cedar trees in scenic Zhouling, the trees that lined the road from Zhouling to Maoling, and the cedar-senensis trees that protected the road for a stretch of over 17 miles were decimated within the single year of 1959. After the locust trees that provided shade along the road from Dizhangwan to Changling had been felled, new trees were replanted and cut down again every year. All the trees along the Wei-Hsi highway from Chenyangchai to Dawangzhen and all the trees along the roads in Xianyang have been felled. Deserving special mention is the fact that the few little old trees from Nanhe village to Dizhangwan along the Xiansong highway have been so damaged that what tree limbs still remain shake in the wind. If this is permitted to continue, the beautiful suburbs of Qindu and Xianyang will be totally denuded of trees. It is proposed that the people's government in Xianyang Municipality adopt effective measures to deal with this problem.

[Statement of Xie Wanjie [6200 5502 2638], delegate to the Provincial Political Consultative Conference: "The Shortage of Farm Animals Requires Prompt Solution"]

The present shortage of farm animals in the villages has become a blatant contradiction. Take Yongshou County [Xianyang Prefecture] as an example; the number of large livestock has yet to reach the highest amount recorded in history. With the implementation of the responsibility system in agricultural

production, large domestic animals have become "farmers' treasures." The lean have been fattened and the number of litters has increased. While it is true that the breeding and rearing of animals by private individuals constitute a basic method of remedying the shortage of farm animals, it is too late for this method to cope with the crisis. There is a shortage of female animals and a large number of aging animals in the county, and the annual 700 or 800 births fall far short of the need. Taking the buying and selling of livestock in such counties as Yongshou as an example, there are more buyers than sellers. The price of livestock keeps going up, so that a decent animal can hardly be bought for 200 or 300 yuan. Some among the masses are of the view that by buying a large number of cows and horses from them every year, the government helped to solve a big problem, and that it would be nice if the government would now return the animals to them. It is proposed that (1) the concerned authorities in the province should have a uniform plan to assist the various county organizations to replenish their livestock, to bring about a balance between supply and demand, and to provide the counties with guidance in the purchasing of animals in the grazing areas, and (2) that the concerned authorities in the province should urge the concerned parties in the counties to do the purchasing on their own or jointly with other parties and to pay the purchase price of animals in advance to the masses, who would then do the purchasing on their behalf in order to meet their needs with the imminent approach of spring plowing.

[Statement by Pan Konglin [3382 1313 2651], delegate to the Provincial People's Congress: "Proposal To Resume the Display of Standard Samples"]

There should be standard samples of flour to be sold and foodstuffs to be purchased. Last year, the masses expressed dissatisfaction over the inferior quality of the standard flour purchased by the food stations. In reply to questions put to them, the higher food authorities claimed that the flour had been analyzed and found to be wholesome. They were unable to produce a standard sample, however, when asked to do so. There are also no standard samples for grain buyers. The word of the examiner of grains is taken for granted, with the result that the masses are shortchanged and the reputation of socialist commercial dealings suffers. It is proposed that grain departments should resume the practice of the 1960's of displaying standard samples so that the masses can exercise some supervision and that improper practices may be corrected.

[Statements by Zhang Zhihe [1728 1807 7729], Hu Sheng [5170 4164] and Ma Yifang [5170 4164], delegates to the Provincial People's Congress: "There Should Be a Change in the Administration of Operations by 'Prodigal Sons;"]

Business and financial losses resulting from the mismanagement of business enterprises have become a serious problem of a serious nature at the present time. Some enterprises are plagued by such problems as inefficiency, corruption, waste, and misappropriation. Some enterprises suffer from lack of management, and machines are left to run unattended. If these problems are not corrected, the cost of production will not go down, profits will not increase, and losses will inevitably result.

At the present time, many enterprises are selling their products below the market price in the domestic market. This practice will reduce the income of the state, erode the morale of the workers and staff members, encourage undesirable practices, and create an extremely bad influence in society.

The provincial government and the concerned departments at various levels should come forward with effective measures to improve the administration of enterprise operations, strictly enforce financial and economic discipline, and put an end to the practice on the part of some enterprises to entrust the administration of operations to "prodigal sons." The problem cannot be solved merely by engaging in empty talk at a meeting or by putting some words in a document.

9621

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ARTICLE STRESSES LEARNING FROM PAST TO AVOID MISTAKES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Zhou Guoeong [0719 0948 2837]: "Conceal One's Sickness for Fear of Treatment"]

[Text] "Conceal one's sickness for fear of treatment" is a story that dates back to long ago, alluding to the fact that everyone has his own different reasons to "conceal his sickness for fear of treatment."

There are some people who really do not know (nor believe) that they are sick. Duke Huan of the State of Qi during the Warring States Period was an example. One day when the famous doctor, Bian Que, found that the duke had "contracted a disease that affected the outer layer of his skin tissue and that it might get worse if not treated," his reply was: "I am in good health." Almost 5 days later, when Bian Que pointed out that the "disease begins to affect his blood vessels," meaning that he was now more seriously ill, the duke still did not believe it. Another 5 days later when Bian Que further warned the duke that the "disease now threatens his abdominal system," and was worsening, he just ignored what was said. Another 5 days later, the duke still reacted nonchalantly when he was told that the disease had spread to his marrow, and beyond the point of any medical cure. One day when he really fell ill, and "sent for Dr Bian Que, the doctor disappeared." At this point, his illness was beyond the power of doctors. If Duke Huan of the State of Qi had taken the doctor's word at its face value from the very beginning and allowed the doctor to treat him, his recovery from the disease was possible. Because he assumed that he was in good health when he was really "sick" and because he treated the doctor's advice as "nonsense," his illness eventually got out of control, and cost him his life!

There are others who can admit their sickness but still want to "conceal it for fear of treatment." Their mistrust of the doctors' "motives" often discourages them from seeing a doctor. A relevant example can be found in "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" which includes a scene depicting Cai Cao inviting Hua Tuo to treat his headache. Cai Cao is a self-styled king of the Wei Dynasty known for his covert plan to cooperate with Sun Quan in isolating the Han Kingdom in Sichuan and in driving Han Yu. When Cai Cao gleefully sees his plot pay off, he feels ready to die of a sudden, and sends a special envoy to fetch Hua Tuo to treat him. Hua Tuo tells Cai Cao: "Your Majesty, your illness is caused by an epidemic. It is now rooted in your brain, and cannot be expected to go away by itself. Nor can it be cured by drinking herb tea alone. My suggestion of treatment is to let

you first drink some herb tea which will numb your lungs, and then to let me perform brain surgery with a sharp-edged ax. In this way, the cause of your illness can be removed and eliminated." Upon hearing this, Cai Cao flies into a rage and says: "Do you want to murder me?" Hua Tuo then proceeds to tell Cai Cao of his previous successful experience in scraping the bone of Guan Yu and healing his wounds, caused by a poisonous arrow, with his own highly developed surgical technique; he implores Cai Cao to trust him. Unexpectedly, this explanation makes Cai Cao more suspicious of Hua Tuo and more angry than ever. In the end, he even orders his aides to "arrest and imprison Hua Tuo" and "set up a kangaroo court to question and torture him" until he is beaten to death. By then, Cai Cao also feels more heady than ever under "a clout from the rising fever which makes his eyes cloudy, until he cries loudly, with tears trickling down his face. Soon, Cai Cao is pronounced dead." Of course, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" is fiction and not an authentic historical record whose contents are at variance with that of the authentic "Historical Account of the Three Kingdoms." At any rate, the historical fact shows that Cai Cao did kill Hua Tuo because of his suspicion of the doctor's motives. The character of Cai Cao as portrayed in the novel typifies an impressive artistic personality whose suspicion of Hua Tuo's motives against him leads him to conceal his sickness and to kill the doctor.

Men fed by grains cannot avoid being sick. Can anyone claim himself to be a saint free from mistakes? When you make mistakes, you must accept criticism. If you are sick and not aware of it, and if you act like Duke Huan of the State of Qi concealing your sickness for fear of treatment, in the end, your health will become hopeless. Your rejection of criticism of your mistakes will lead you to commit even more serious mistakes until you get bogged down in a quagmire and can find no way to extricate yourself from it. This is an attitude that is not worthy of emulation.

As soon as you are aware of your sickness, your sincere cooperation in following the doctor's prescriptions and treatment is necessary. As soon as you are aware of your shortcomings and mistakes, you will have no reason to fear displeasing but sincere admonition. Nor should you have any reason to nitpick about the method and demeanor with which criticism is conducted. If you mistake the doctor's sincere attempt to save your life as a sinister plot to harm you, you will make a big mistake. "To remember the past mistakes as an assurance against repetition of the similar mistakes in the future" is a lesson left by Cai Cao. This is a lesson that is worthy of appreciation and study by us.

As believers in scientific materialism, we must seek truth from facts. We should not conceal our sickness for fear of treatment. When anyone commits mistakes, he should be prepared to accept criticism. By concealing his sickness for fear of treatment, and by glossing over his fault and covering it up, he will end up hurting not only himself but others as well. This is why our party has viewed the practice of criticism and self-criticism as one of its three excellent traditional styles of work. As a result of the 10 years of catastrophic civil strife, and under the impact of the leftist ideology, many comrades have made themselves appear "like birds frightened by the bow" at the mere mention of criticism. This is in effect absolutely unnecessary. We must make "criticism and self-criticism" part of our political life and something indispensable to our daily activities.

Of course, we must draw lessons from those such as "quack doctor, Hu." Critics should conduct criticism in a friendly manner, and in a way that is appropriate to a given locality, and pay attention to method and demeanor in the course of criticism. The most simplified form of criticism designed to "cure a hundred diseases with a single fixed prescription that is bound to cause a hundred mistakes" should be avoided. We must sincerely "learn from our past mistakes in order to avoid the same ones in the future and cure the sickness to save the patient."

While rejecting the tendency to conceal the sickness for fear of treatment, we must hone our skills in curing the sickness. Only in this way can we truly turn the practice of "criticism and self-criticism" into a new style of work of our socialist society.

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CSO: 4005/582

PROPOSERS OF 'NEW ESTHETIC PRINCIPLES' CRITICIZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Fu Ping [0265 5493]: "Toward Which Direction Should the Skylight of Art Open?--A Critique of 'The Rise of the New Esthetic Principles'"]

[Text] In the face of the appearance of "hazy poems" in poetic circles and people's extensive discussion of these poetic works in the last few years, Comrade Sun Shaozhen [1327 4801 2182] has attempted to expound the value and status of the poetic works of certain youths in today's poetic circles from the standpoint of esthetic theory. It should be said that in literary and art circles in which theory has fallen behind creation, this kind of exploration is quite meaningful. But the "new esthetic principles" proposed by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, just like some of the "hazy poems," are as murky as they are biased. This calls for some deliberation.

In his "Rise of the New Esthetic Principles," Comrade Sun Shaozhen touches on how some young poem writers have demonstrated a kind of recalcitrant attitude toward traditional esthetic concepts, saying: "They disdain to become trumpets of the spirit of the times, and they also disdain to portray great achievements beyond their own emotional world. They even avoid writing about the experiences and scenes of heroic struggle and selfless labor of the personalities to whom we have become accustomed. Their tradition is different from our tradition of songs of praise in the 1950's and fighting songs in the 1960's in that they do not directly praise life but pursue the secrets life has dissolved in their souls." This passage not only constitutes a generalization of the characteristics of those poetic works on his part but also confers upon them the appellation "new esthetic principles" and thereby praises them and affirms them. On the basis of these "principles," Comrade Sun Shaozhen excludes the socialist spirit of the times and people's experiences of work and struggle in our real life from the realm of art, and confines the vision of poets and artists to the small circle of "delineating our own emotional world" and pursuing "the secrets in our own souls." On this point alone, Comrade Sun Shaozhen has already pushed these "new esthetic principles" toward the individualistic abyss of "self-expression." According to what is said in Comrade Sun Shaozhen's article, the political ideology in society can only influence a part of man's spiritual life; beyond this there is also a "self-matter," which can be neither replaced nor influenced and which is independent of the political ideology in society. This "self-matter"--consciousness and feelings--"has different connotations and different laws" from

the consciousness and feelings subject to the influence of the political ideology in society, and art seeks precisely to explore the consciousness and feelings of such people. Hence, not nakedly as in the above case but evasively in his expression, Comrade Sun Shaozhen executes another exclusion, that is, he excludes the part of consciousness and feelings of the poet which are subject to influence by the political ideology in society, and thereby further confines the vision of art in the expression and pursuit of those "private feelings" and "secrets in our souls" which are not subject to the influence of the political ideology in society. In this way, Comrade Sun Shaozhen also tinges his individualistic "self-expression" with a thick color of subjective idealism.

As a result, we can see that this theory of esthetics on Comrade Sun Shaozhen's part violates the Marxist principles of esthetics. Engels demanded in his day to have the working class' life of struggle included in the realm of realistic creation and expressed the hope that literary and art works could "praise the stubborn, earthshaking, revolutionary proletarians." Lenin asked that literary and art workers "constantly place workers and peasants before themselves." Comrade Mao Zedong in turn earnestly guided revolutionary literary and art workers to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to get to know them, to understand them, to describe them, and to portray them, thus "propelling the masses of people toward unity and struggle, and to proceed to transform their own environment." If one calls oneself a poet or artist who serves the people and affirms that one's art is socialist art, then one must adhere to this Marxist literary principle. Today, the soldiers and civilians of the whole country are exerting themselves for the prosperity of the state and sweating and shedding blood for the construction of socialist modernization; there have emerged praiseworthy, heroic personalities and stories by the thousands. How can our poets declare that they "disdain" to portray the people and their achievements? Only the people's life and struggle are an inexhaustible source for our literature and art. In his congratulatory message at the nation's fourth congress of literary and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called upon the literary and art workers to "fully demonstrate the fine qualities of our people, praise the great achievements the people have won in revolution and construction and in their struggle against various enemies and various difficulties," to "consciously absorb raw materials, themes, stories, languages, poetic feelings and picturesque ideas from the life of the people and nurture themselves with the assertive spirit of the people in creating history." On this question, Comrade Sun Shaozhen has turned the guiding hand of art precisely in the opposite direction, suggesting that artists avoid people's experiences of struggle and scenes of selfless labor, that they disdain to portray the timely feelings of this new era and open the skylight of art only toward the fairy land of peach blossoms of "self-spirit expression" and "secrets in the soul." According to this kind of esthetic theory, poets and artists may simply turn a deaf ear to, and look but not see, the stemmed flood current at Gezhouba Dam, the gunshots during the war of self-defensive counterattack, the smiles on the faces of the peasants, the eternal lights in front of the computers, and they need only shut themselves up underneath the small skylight of art, recall the "bright red scarf" kissed by someone, pursue the "blue handkerchief" that fell from a porch, and fabricate love stories ranging from

the "sublime" to the "ignoble." According to this kind of esthetic theory, people can only knit their brows and mull over the "super art" of such unintelligible stanzas as "Against the swift wind, the bird/Quickly turns in a different direction/A lad proceeds to pick up/A fen-coin/Because of fancy, the grapevine's/Extended tentacles/Because of cringe, the sea wave's/Hunched back." According to such a theory as that of Comrade Sun Shaozhen, there would be nothing left of literature and art serving the people and serving socialism.

Then do the expression and pursuit, as advocated by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, of such "private feelings" and "internal secrets" independent of the political ideology in society really exist? While emphasizing that "we ourselves" and "individuals" "should have a higher status in society," Comrade Sun Shaozhen broaches "we ourselves" and "individuals" in conjunction with society and the times. "Since man has created society, society should not deny individual interests on account of its own interests' since man has created society's spiritual civilization, the spirit of society (of the times) should not be taken as a rival force of the individual spirit." Here, we need not dwell on the preposterous nature of this emphasis on elevating "we ourselves" and "individuals" above society; actually, this approach on his part has already bored an unstemmable hole in the wide dam of his theory. Since he still broaches "individuals" and "we ourselves" along with their antagonistic struggle against "society" and "the times," then "individual feelings, individual grief and pleasure, and individual mental worlds" are bound to be subject to the influence of the political ideology in society, and cannot possibly be sublimated to become some transcendent "self-matter." Marx said: "Man's essence is not necessarily the abstract matter intrinsic in a single individual; actually, it is the sum total of all social relationships." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In a class society, every person lives in a definite class status and all ideas are without exception marked by class imprints." In reality, it is also impossible for those hazy, wavering, gloomy and other deformed "individual feelings" and "individual mental worlds" to be transcendent, intrinsic; it is only because of the influence of the more complicated social phenomena, factors, and ideologies to which they are subjected that they are manifested in a certain individual in a singular way. Some youths, having emerged from the social environment of the 10 years of turmoil, eventually wrote some poems describing the distorted minds created by this society; this is understandable. Such manifestations of art, like the social phenomena of the 10 years of turmoil, can only be temporary in history and in the long river of art. At the end of 1980 and beginning of 1981, after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Sun Shaozhen was not guiding young poem writers to depart from those distorted private feelings and join the trend of exerting our spirit and reviving the China of the day, to feel the new feelings, ideas and consciousness of the masses of the people, and to sing new songs with their new vocal cords; instead, he wanted them to shun and stay far away from the people's life, to portray the "private feelings" and "secrets in the soul" which were not subject to the influence of the political ideology in society. This was bound to be like what Lu Xun had criticized, "living in a fighting era but wishing to stay independent of fight"; this could only be "a fantasy created by the mind." No doubt, Comrade Sun Shaozhen was guiding the young poem writers; but this

guidance directed them precisely to a blind alley. Perhaps Comrade Sun Shaozhen did not anticipate this.

Naturally, we by no means exclude the "self" in poetry and the "self" in art, because all works of art are results of using the eyes and the mind of this "self" to observe life, observe the world, and then reflect them in definite artistic forms through this "self" and with the ideas and feelings of this self. But only when this "self" and "the feelings of this self" are consistent, or basically consistent, with the times, the masses of the people, and social life can one's art possess esthetic value and moving power. The more the feelings of the "self" are deeply rooted in the soil of social life, the more they are closely linked to the feelings of the masses of the people, then the greater will be the social value of one's art, and it may even be conveyed and praised by posterity forever. "The bright moonlight before my bed, Looks almost like frost on the ground; As I raise my head to look at the bright moon, I can't help lowering it immediately to think of my native village." What this little poem expresses is entirely Li Bai's private feelings. But these private feelings on Li Bai's part partake of the general character of the people. Who has not experienced nostalgic thinking and feelings toward his native village? This little poem of Li Bai's, which expresses individual feelings in a given environment, is also most likely to evoke the common feelings of all people in thinking about their native villages. Hence, it has transcended all dynasties and been passed on and praised by all without decline. What is expressed by Guo Xiaochuan's [6753 1420 1557] "Autumn Song" is also individual feelings: "As a fighter, one can never lay down one's weapon; even if there is but one minute left/One must pursue the revolution, never halt one's steps without advance, even if one faces a forest of bayonets." "I know, there is bound to be one day, I am going to grow weak and old, wearing a clumsy outlook/But I only wish that by then my heart remains young just like the time when I first joined the army." Such feelings can really touch people's hearts, encourage people to assert themselves, and encourage people to strive forward. If the personal feelings of poets and artists run counter to the feelings of the masses of the people, as suggested by Comrade Sun Shaozhen, and they cast aside the life of struggle on the part of the masses of the people, ignore the sentiments and wishes of the masses of the people, turn their backs on the times, turn their backs on society, and indulge in portraying and pursuing the "private feelings" and "secrets in the soul" which no one else except one's "self" can guess, then, we may also borrow the words of Belinsky to say: "With respect to those who express only their own sorrows, we may borrow the words of Lermontov to say: 'Whether it is painful to you or not, what does it have to do with us?'" Indeed, however aloof you may pretend to be and however elegant you may pretend to be, what can such "inarticulate" and "hardly understandable" feelings have to do with the masses of the people?

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CSO: 4005/585

PUBLICATIONS URGED TO DEVELOP MASS CRITICISM OF LITERARY WORKS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 82 p 3

Article by Ruo Hua [5387 5478]: "A Brief Discussion on 'How To Be Involved'"

[Text] Recently, I enjoyed a chit-chat with a number of comrades who devote their spare time to reviewing literary and artistic works. In response to the question of how correctly to develop literary and artistic reviews, these comrades said ruefully: "It is hard to say. It is really difficult to find a way to develop the literary and artistic review." How difficult is it? Their answer to this question raised by me is that their articles have been rejected by the editorial departments of newspapers and publications. These are comrades who have devoted their spare time and attention to reading newspapers and journals. Their insinulative review of certain unhealthy styles of literary works has been mostly returned by publications. Their articles have been returned not because of quality but because they are full of "criticism." In letters returning their articles, the editorial departments of some publications often give this polite but pointed remark: It appears that your articles are devoted to criticizing certain works in certain publications, and from the positions of our publications, we consider it inappropriate to criticize the contents of other fraternal publications. For this reason, we have to return your articles. Some even have taken a more clear-cut attitude by stating that we are not planning to publish your articles because we do not want to involve ourselves in controversies about other publications. This argument against "involvement in controversies" has also been heard frequently these days. For example, during informal discussions, some comrades are eager to involve themselves in debates over the merits or demerits of certain films, television programs and novels they have seen. These are debates full of incisive analysis, independent views, positive but sharp criticism. But when you urge them to put them in print as contributions to the newspaper "debates," you will face difficulties in persuading them to do so. In recanting what they have said, they can immediately change their attitude by stating that the things that have happened in the literary and artistic circles are none of our business and why should we get involved? You see, this is another argument "against involvement." As a result of such "arguments against involvement," debates over the major issues of the day involving the violation of the four basic principles have disappeared, giving rise to ultraindividualism and the liberalization tendency. Our failure to subject them to timely criticism by means of persuasion, and warn the public of their growth and our tolerance of their development have proved harmful not only to the development of our literature and art but also to our young comrades.

Gone forever with the downfall of the "gang of four" are attempts to exaggerate the mistakes of others to the maximum, to frame with false charges the innocent through the launching of mass criticism, and to use criticism as a weapon to overthrow their adversaries and other feudal fascist tactics. I have no doubt in my mind that these tactics which prevailed when the "gang of four" was in the heyday of their power have been prohibited forever. But we cannot abandon the decent and healthy form of criticism and self-criticism just as we cannot give up eating for fear of choking. As a matter of fact, fearing criticism is a mental disorder. To cure it calls for vigorous development of criticism and self-criticism. As soon as the people get used to it, their fear will disappear. Of course, in the course of criticism, the policy of persuasion and education must be implemented and coupled with the method of reasoning. It is needless to mention this here. I understand that the reactivation of literary and artistic review calls for taking the mass line and making efforts to secure the support of the masses. Only in this way can we gradually create a new environment in which the people can speak out on issues of the day freely and without apprehension, and a habit of this kind can be expected to develop. For example, is it possible for us to rely on a small number of professionals to canvass and review so many publications and so many works on literature and art that are published every month and every year throughout the country? We must understand that the people love the art and the art needs to be appreciated by the people even more. If artists want to continue to make progress and to improve the quality of their works, they must be prepared to listen to criticism from all directions with a humble mind and turn receptive ears to valuable opinions voiced by others, and they must rely on the people to judge their works, and their ideological and artistic achievements. The vast numbers of spare time literary and artistic reviewers and lovers of literature and art have expressed their concern and love for the kind of literature and art promoted by our party. Clearly, the argument "against their involvement" in literary and artistic review is unwise! What is wrong with their open-minded "participation" in such reviews in the people's interests?

I hope that those in charge of the supplementary editions of various newspapers and publications devoted to literary and artistic review are ready to welcome warmly criticism from readers. Only in this way can the contingent of professional reviewers work more closely than ever with the contingent of spare time reviewers to enliven the activities of the review of our socialist literature and art and to brighten the prospect for the development of literature and art in our country.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GRADUATE STUDENTS COMPLYING WITH STATE WORK ASSIGNMENTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Luo Ying [7482 5391]: "Analyzing the Statement of 'One Should Be Able to Design One's Own Life'--On Work Assignment of Graduates of Schools of Higher Learning"]

[Text] Recently, assignment decisions for this year's graduates of schools of higher learning have continuously been sent down. The clarion call "respond to the call of the motherland; comply with the work assignment of the country" is being accepted by an ever greater number of graduate students. Overflowing with lofty sentiments, many graduate students have resolved to go wherever the motherland needs them most!

On the question of work assignments for graduates of higher level schools, there are also those who espouse the slogan "Each designing his own life." Comrades who hold this opinion feel that in assigning work to graduates of higher level schools one need only proceed based on the aims, interests and desires of the graduates to most effectively develop the utilization of their talents. If the emphasis is on compliance with central work assignments of the country [they say], the development of talent will be hindered to the point of strangling talent. How should we, in the final analysis, view this issue?

We feel that if we take "Each designing his own life" to mean that in the process of cultivating talents we proceed by noting each person's special characteristics and fully broadening individual initiative and individual creativity to more greatly contribute our talents and intelligence to the four modernizations of the motherland, then there is in it a certain positive significance. However, be that as it may, the fruition of human talents cannot entirely rely on "Each designing his own life." This is because the development of talents, even talents developed through self-study, cannot be detached from particular social conditions; all must be affected by the restrictions and regulations of society. Our's is a socialist country and everyone can "design his own life" but this "designing" must proceed from the needs of the state and the people and cannot stand in opposition to those needs. To bring up "designing one's own life" while assigning work to graduates and to only mention work assignments based on the personal wishes, desires and interests of the graduates while not mentioning that individuals should comply with centralized work assignments of the country is wrong.

We do not deny that in previous assignments of work to graduates, owing to changes in situations and alterations in construction plans graduates in some specialties were, based on original projections, too many. Either due to the work not being sufficiently refined or inflexibilities in work assignment plans, there arose deficiencies such as specialties not matching with skills and training not being utilized etc. which adversely affected the development of people's talents. This certainly must be improved. At the same time, we do not consider the general policy and implementation of the country's central work assignment program to have already reached a point of perfection; henceforth we can still advance further and summarizing from experience carry out the process of graduate work assignment in a more reasonable manner. But whatever the case, the socialist nature of our country and the demands of realizing a planned economy both determine that graduates of higher levels of education must carry out the principles of the country's central work assignment program. This is without doubt and there can be no vacillation. Facts from more than 30 years prove that, generally speaking, the policy of central work assignment is correct and effective and beneficial to the full development of individual talent and the full utilization of individual skills. To only grasp some of the deficiencies of past work assignment [programs] and to entirely refute the central work assignment policy of the state to the point of saying that whatever compliance there is to national work assignment will strangle talent is entirely without basis.

There are those who envy the freedom of university graduates of capitalist countries to seek their own employment. They really don't know that in capitalist countries there are indeed a good number of university graduates who find employment matching their specialties and who find positions they really enjoy. But at the same time, there is a good portion of graduates who are unable to utilize what they have learned and many become unemployed after graduation. To eke out a living, they have no choice but to seek work as helpers in hotels and restaurants or to become taxi drivers. How can it be said that this is making the most of their talent or fully utilizing what they have learned? Indeed our university graduates do not have the "freedom" of capitalist countries and our centralized assignment does nonetheless have this or that shortcoming, but we at least have one point [in our favor]--none will have to face the threat of unemployment. That state expends large amounts of human effort and financial resources to cultivate university students who, upon graduation are given suitable employment by the state. This is an embodiment of the superior nature of the socialist system. Today, if we employed the slogan of "each designing his own life" to advocate to university graduates the "freedom" of looking for jobs and positions, then we could positively say that not only would it be disadvantageous to the four modernizations of the country but it would also lack any benefit to the majority of university graduates. The only result it could have would be to cause great numbers of people to fail to find work. It would only aid the growth of improper trends such as "opening the back door" and "nepotism" etc. How can this guarantee "developing talent to the fullest; utilizing what one has learned?"

The popularity of the slogan "each designing his own life" has already caused some difficulties for the graduate assignment [effort]. We see in every

school of higher learning some graduate students who have designed for themselves this sort of "ideal plan": "Don't go to other parts of the country. Stay in Shanghai. Don't go to the basic level or hardship areas. Go to work only in large schools, big organizations, scientific research institutes and design academies. Such "self-serving designing" is fine indeed. Too bad it won't work. With eyesore to "design his own" in this manner, everyone would remain in Shanghai, unwilling to go out to hardship areas. How then could our goals of revitalizing China and improving our underdeveloped (country) be realized? For some of these graduates who are so enthusiastic about "designing his own life" and are unwilling to comply with the country's central assignments, the key factor may not be to best develop their personal talents and capabilities in order to make greater contributions to the country, but may be for the love of comfort and the fear of hardship that they fiddle with ideas of individualism.

We believe that today's university graduates who are aware, who possess ambition and who have aspirations, will disagree with the slogan "Design his own life" and will certainly place the interests of the state and the people above everything else. They are certainly able to closely integrate their personal talents with the socialist future of their motherland and, happily complying with the central work assignments of the state, will go wherever the country needs them most.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIAN XUESEN ON QUALITY OF ACADEMIC DEGREE SYSTEM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 81 p 2

[Article summarizing a speech given by Qian Xuesen to the members of the Staff Office of the State Council Academic Degree Commission: "Qian Xuesen Makes Suggestions for Making a Success of Our Country's Academic Degree System"]

[Text] Recently, State Council Degree Commission member and Vice Chairman of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission, Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] put forth some constructive suggestions to the comrades in charge of the State Council Academic Degree Commission Staff Office on the issue of how we might make a success of our country's academic degree system.

Qian Xuesen said: Our country is a socialist country. As our academic degrees are different from the academic degrees of capitalist countries, they ought to have their own characteristics. First, applicants to be given academic degrees should have a definite upbringing in Marxist philosophy and be able to utilize Marxist philosophy to guide research work. This point ought to be embodied quite prominently in the academic degree system of our country. For example, those who would study natural science or engineering technology should first fully learn natural dialectics, the theory of knowledge and the history of science. At the beginning of the papers they write, graduate students ought to clearly explain the position their paper occupies in the development of the subject in their field and how it was developed dialectically, so as to verify the degree of the writer's grasp of Marxist philosophy. This way, not only would the imperatives of the graduates students but also those of their advisors would be heightened. Second, applicants to receive academic degrees certainly should establish the concept of serving the people. Anyone who would become a science worker ought to have this kind of ability; the ability to employ ordinary language to explain his specialized knowledge to the people (including the leaders). At the time graduate students write their thesis it would be best if they would also compose a piece in ordinary language with the same content. This can help to smash bookish knowledge and the corrupt practice of only being able to talk jargon. Third, each specialized academic degree should be planned based on proportioned development. Presently, whenever a specialty has the conditions for cultivation, specialized talents are then cultivated. This is acceptable initially. But scientific technology is developmental; there is constant change in the relative importance of specialized subjects of study.

New subjects of study and new specialties are continually emerging. We should henceforth, step by step, prepare a cultivation program based on the needs of socialist construction. We should enthusiastically support newly established sciences and urgently needed and fragile specialties and motivate a portion of science research personnel to transfer over to these sciences and specialties and cultivate talent in these areas in a planned manner. Fourth, we need the entire country playing the same game. The academic degree of capitalist countries exists in a free market so only a degree from a famous university has monetary value. Our situation is different; our country has uniformly formulated academic degree criteria. [Even] an unpublishable degree thesis ought to be printed up and distributed to members of an appraisal group in the relevant field of study and colleagues for their evaluation. So long as we genuinely carry out academic democracy, the key point of quality will be firmly grasped. After units to confer academic degrees have approved a thesis, there should be a period of time to allow colleagues to bring up differing opinions, to isolate those who haven't done well, and to be able to nullify academic qualifications.

Qian Xuesen raised the point that our cultivation of specialized talents should serve the four modernizations. The research topics of academic degree graduates should closely tie in with the needs of the country. What sense does it make if a clinic medical doctor is unable to cure illness? We need to guard against dead-end probings and multitudinously detailed philosophies in research methodology. Presently, there are those within the social sciences who take a phrase from the ancients to create long essays; repeatedly examining points, they compose a long thesis--to my mind this is meaningless.

Qian Xuesen said: To raise the level of the ranks of qualified teachers is to guarantee the foundation of academic degree quality. Presently, the number of older generation scientists in our country is small and their average age is old. It is the middle-aged associate professors and lecturers who occupy the front line. They graduated prior to the "Cultural Revolution" and their studies have been comparatively more systematic. They have been working already for 20 or 30 years and are well qualified in the performance of ordinary research work and have hidden potential resources. Among them are a good many who have carried out numerous scientific research projects and have attained a certain accomplishment of whom it can be said, as when ascending Mount Tai, they have passed through "Middle Heaven Gate" and are just making their way to "Eighteen Plates" to climb up to "South Heaven Gate" but who still have not ascended "Jade Emperor Peak" and so are unable to "in one look make small the group of foothills." This is because their range of knowledge is comparatively narrow; lacking creativeness, they can only follow others. Help them upward a bit and it becomes a "breakthrough." This is an immediate task of greatest urgency. As I see it, we must first resolve the question of their ambition. Lacking ambition to promote the prosperity of China keeps them from reaching the top. Besides this, there must be a methodology of scientific thought; both the educational and scientific realms should seriously organize study of Marxist theory of knowledge and methodology, and study of the general and specific policies relevant to scientific research. Additionally, we should certainly foster academic democracy. For example, each research room could organize weekly academic discussion sessions.

Specialists from different fields could "drop by" and freely participate. Specialists could explain their views and students could express their opinions. After much repeated discussion, they could conclude with a summation and hence achieve some results. For every participant, this manner of working, of 100 Schools Contending, of removing the chaff and retaining the essence, of throwing out the false and preserving the true should be excellent training. When we were graduate research students overseas we depended on these methods to raise our level. The academic centers of every country in the world have adopted such methods.

With special emphasis, he said: After resolving the above mentioned issues, we will then have the most important basis for the realization of the modernization of science and technology.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

STATE COUNCIL AUTHORIZES 458 COLLEGES TO GRANT B.A. DEGREES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 82 p 1

[Article: "Beginning This Year 458 Institutes of Higher Learning Will Offer B.A. Degrees"]

[Text] The State Council recently authorized 458 institutes of higher learning to grant the first group of B.A. degrees. The State Council Commission on Academic Degrees and the Ministry of Education jointly issued the list of the first group of colleges and universities authorized to grant B.A. degrees. They also jointly sent out notices on how the task of awarding this year's B.A. degrees should be handled to each concerned ministry, committee and central bureau office of the State Council and to departments (bureaus) of higher education in every province, municipality and autonomous region.

The first group of colleges and universities that were authorized to grant B.A. degrees were all established with the authorization of the State Council. They started enrolling undergraduates before and during 1978. They met the demands in every regard for qualified teachers and teaching prerequisites. Included are: 31 colleges, 169 colleges of science and engineering, 57 teaching colleges, 18 colleges of finance and economics, 3 colleges of political science and law, 10 colleges of language and literature, 8 colleges of physical education, 22 colleges of art, 9 colleges of ethnic studies, 51 colleges of agriculture and forestry, and 80 colleges of medicine. These institutions of higher learning are authorized to grant the first group of B.A. degrees to this year's graduates.

In the joint notice of the State Council Commission on Academic Degrees and the Ministry of Education, it was pointed out that all concerned colleges and universities must uphold a socialist orientation in conferring B.A. degrees. In order to receive a degree, this year's graduates must endorse the leadership of the CCP and the socialist system. They must be willing to serve the cause of socialist construction, observe discipline and the socialist legal system, and be well-behaved. The following academic standards are necessary for receiving a B.A. degree: candidates must be college undergraduates who have already fulfilled all academic requirements and be verified as permitted to graduate. They must have done well in their course of study and in their graduation thesis (graduation project or some other graduation exercise) and have clearly demonstrated a fairly good mastery of the basic theories of their

subject. They must also have some specialized knowledge and basic abilities in their field. They must have an elementary ability to do scientific research or undertake specialized technical work.

The notice also indicated that each institute of higher learning that is authorized to grant B.A. degrees and each of their departments, when verifying the academic records of undergraduate students, need not organize an academic qualifying examination. Rather, they may base it on the cumulative academic record of the student in completing his course of study. Methods for assessing a graduation thesis (graduation project or some other graduation exercise) may be determined by each college or university. It is not necessary to set up a defense.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CYL TRAINING OF EMPLOYMENT-AWAITING YOUTHS EMPHASIZED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Ling Guodian [0407 0948 1156], secretary of CYL Gansu provincial committee: "The Communist Youth League Must Shoulder the Heavy Responsibility of Educating the Employment-Awaiting Youths"]

[Text] At present, employment-awaiting on the part of large contingents of senior and junior middle school graduates has already become a social problem on which the eyes of the whole country are fixed; the number, the degree of influence, and the extent of involvement have all reached a point where they can no longer be avoided or overlooked. How this problem is going to be solved directly concerns the immediate interests of thousands of households, the growth of a whole generation of youths, and the stability and unity of the whole society.

The party and the government pay a great deal of attention to this question of employment-awaiting youths and have adopted a series of major measures to properly settle a large contingent of employment-awaiting youths. Very recently, the Party Central Committee and the State Council once again issued a "Decision Concerning Opening All Avenues, Stimulating the Economy, and Solving Employment Problems in Cities and Towns"; this represents a major readjustment and reform in the employment structure by the party and the government and a scientific summing-up and generalization of the past 30 years of labor and employment arrangements; it points out the direction for further solving the employment of youths in cities and towns and fully demonstrates the party's intimate care and earnest expectation of the youths in cities and towns.

Under the party's education and training, employment-awaiting youths all have a given degree of socialist consciousness and scientific and cultural knowledge. But because they are waiting for employment, their lives are not very stable, they are somewhat despondent, and in looking at problems they often cannot transcend individual circles so that their views are liable to become radical, and sometimes they do not have sufficient understanding of the advanced, positive aspects of our socialist system but are liable to accept the negative things in society or even take them too seriously and thereby undermine their confidence in their own future and the country's destiny. Because of myriad material and spiritual difficulties, these people have become the sector of the youth today among whom problems are rather numerous. Precisely

because this is the case, the employment-awaiting youths need especially the care and assistance of all concerned, including the CYL. But because of past employment structures and traditional concepts, the point of emphasis in the league's work in cities and towns has been basically placed on state-run enterprises and relatively large collective entrepreneurial units, whereas work on employment-awaiting youths as such was not sufficiently stressed. In many places, the employment-awaiting youths found themselves in a state of being "out of the jurisdiction of control by schools, beyond the control of their families, and subject to control by no one in society." The strength of the league among the employment-awaiting youths was weak, its organization was loose, and it therefore failed to play the core role of uniting and educating these youths. On Lingxia Road in Lanzhou, there were over 1,000 youths, but there were only a little over 50 league members. In the Chengguan District of Lanzhou Municipality, there were over 500 young heads of individual industrial and commercial households, but there were only two or three league members and there was no league organization established; not to mention educating other youths, even league members themselves lacked normal organizational life. If such a situation is not quickly reversed, it will not only affect the healthy development of the league but also hamper the growth of a generation of new people toward maturity. Employment-awaiting youths have usually just left school and begun to step into society; their world view is just taking shape. If they are educated properly and in a timely way, they will become an important force for the construction of the four modernizations; otherwise, they will be adversely affected.

The CYL is the school where youths learn communism; employment-awaiting youths should naturally be students at such a school. The view which takes employment-awaiting youths as a burden of society, an encumbrance to the construction of the four modernizations, or which even equates such employment-awaiting youths with fallen youths is neither objective nor fair. If we should insist on this kind of prejudice and throw up our hands about these employment-awaiting youths and exclude them from the gates of the CYL, that would be still less justifiable. Or if we should consider employment-awaiting youths as the sector of youths who are more problematical, and thereby fail to have the courage to intervene and let them do whatever they please and fend for themselves, that would also be a manifestation of irresponsibility. In reality, a great deal of socialist enthusiasm is embodied among the employment-awaiting youths; once they are guided onto the correct course, they will immediately become an important force for the construction of the four modernizations. Take our province as example: Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, collective enterprises in cities and towns have been revived and developed anew, the channels for their establishment have become more and more numerous, the speed of their development has increasingly picked up, and their results have become increasingly better. By the end of 1980, there were already more than 6,100 collective enterprises of various kinds and types throughout the province; those engaged to run them have been mainly employment-awaiting youths, who numbered more than 129,000; the year's output value amounted to 550 million yuan, with 18.6 million yuan of tax money submitted to the state treasury and a profit of more than 40.8 million yuan realized. Employment-awaiting youth Du Yongsheng [2629 3057 3932] of Cheng County united himself with 20 other youths and gathered enough capital to run a factory of electronic

products; after strenuous effort, the quantity and quality of their products quickly improved; more than 50 firms signed order agreements with them. This not only solved the employment problem for some of the youths but also made up the shortage of products in the market and stimulated the economy. Such examples have become more and more numerous in our province. Furthermore, there is also a great deal for the CYL to do among the employment-awaiting youths. Following the request of the party committee, the league committee of the Lanzhou oil refinery labor service company sought in its work with employment-awaiting youths to begin with ideological education, energetically grasp technical training, earnestly develop sparetime cultural and sports activities, lead more than 1,000 employment-awaiting youths to play a shock-troop role in production and construction, keep the company's accumulation growing continuously, and keep its profits increasing continuously, thus also making greater contributions to the state; the economic income of these employment-awaiting youths also increased as a result, and this not only turned the company into a place where the youths' employment problem was solved but also a school where people become educated and trained. During the past half year and more, it has developed altogether more than 100 league members; more than 350 youths have filled out league membership applications; 42 backward youths have made progress in varying degrees, and among them 11 have entered the league. These facts illustrate that the pulse of the employment-awaiting youths beats along with the pulse of the times; in their hearts are lighted the flames of springtime. As long as our league organizations at various levels actively coordinate with the concerned departments and strengthen their education and training, they are bound to grow up healthily in the CYL, a big school.

Although the employment-awaiting youths have some definite scientific and cultural knowledge, what they have absorbed happens to be mostly basic education in cultural classes; they lack various kinds of professional knowledge; the various production departments are strange to them. This brings very great difficulties to possible encouragement of employment-awaiting youths to organize themselves and seek professional engagements on their own. Hence, the CYL should assist concerned departments to run some good professional training classes of various kinds in order to create conditions for the employment-awaiting youths to get hired. Here is a task not only suggested by the realistic situation of the employment-awaiting youths but also determined by the character and task of the league itself. At present, it can directly solve the difficulty of technical deficiency on their part in getting hired in the various trades. From the point of view of long-range needs, what their cultural, scientific and technological level is like determines the quality of the future working class as well as the rise or fall of our enterprises of modernization.

Energetically developing sparetime cultural and sports activities is an important link in administering ideological education to the employment-awaiting youths. Like youths on other fronts, employment-awaiting youths not only demand to gradually improve their material conditions, but their needs in spiritual and cultural life are also becoming increasingly salient. The reason why a part of the employment-awaiting youths were depressed and why some of them engaged in gambling and fighting or resorted to superstitious activities was because they lacked the necessary healthy cultural and spiritual life.

Therefore, in our work of ideological education among the employment-awaiting youths, we must organize them to launch various beneficial and healthy cultural and sports activities. Where grounds and equipment for such activities are lacking, they should be built as quickly as possible. Grounds for such activities available at factories and mines, institutions and streets should be opened to employment-awaiting youths. During festival or vacation periods, league organizations at various levels may organize the employment-awaiting youths to hold various physical education and sports contests and cultural and artistic get-together activities, to put up fine arts, photography and calligraphy exhibits, so as to mold the temperament of the employment-awaiting youths, enrich their spiritual lives, and promote their physical and mental health through various cultural and sports activities.

9255

CSO: 4005/605

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SICHUAN PARTY FOCUSES ON HELPING UNEMPLOYED YOUTHS

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Dec 81 p 2

[Article: "Initiate a Collective Economy and Make Arrangements for Unemployed Youths"]

[Text] The party committee for agencies directly under provincial control recently convened a conference of all leaders of provincial level ministries, committees, departments, bureaus, offices, firms and commune units. It transmitted the order of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council for implementing "Certain Resolutions on Tapping New Sources, Resuscitating the Economy and Solving Urban Unemployment Problems." Comrade Yan Changqing [7051 7022 1987], deputy secretary general of the provincial CCP committee and secretary of the party committee for agencies directly under provincial control presided over the conference. Comrades in charge of the province's Labor Bureau summed up the conditions of finding work for the unemployed in the province and in provincial level organs. They explained and publicized the major points of the "resolution."

The conference was of the opinion that remarkable results could be achieved if provincial organs opened up various employment channels, made every effort to develop a collective economy and made arrangements for unemployed youth according to the "three-in-one" employment policy proposed by the Central Committee. At present, our province's Forestry Bureau, Hydroelectric Bureau and Thermal Power Planning Institute, Posts and Telecommunications Bureau, the staff office of the provincial CCP committee, the Government Office, the Agricultural Machinery Bureau, the Commerce Department and 28 other units have all already initiated 66 collective economy organizations and made arrangements for 1,600 unemployed youths. For the most part, these collective enterprises have been successful. Their income is steady and the personnel are content. The province's Geology Bureau, the E Film Studio, the Sichuan broadcasting station, the branch of the science academy and other units conducted training classes in tailoring, finance and accounting, radio repair, cold working optics and other technical and vocational work. They accepted 150 unemployed youths to participate in their study program. Over 600 unemployed youths participated in the supplementary education classes given by various units in preparation for the entrance exams for various schools. Four hundred and fifty unemployed youths did temporary work and manual labor. These measures not only provided training and instruction for the unemployed

youths, but they also provided them with employment qualifications. In addition, they eliminated the fear among staff and workers of creating trouble at home. Both the unemployed youths and their parents were satisfied.

The conference analyzed the favorable conditions and problems existing in the arrangements being made for unemployed youths in organs under provincial control. They demanded that each unit under provincial control take the lead in implementing the resolutions of the Central Committee and the State Council. They must mobilize the vast numbers of staff, workers and the masses to conscientiously study the resolutions of the Central Committee and the State Council. They must improve their understanding of the importance of urban employment problems, acquire a thorough understanding of the related principles and policies, and overcome their outdated concepts of looking down on collective and individual economy and holding commerce and service trades in contempt. The leading comrades of each unit should personally set about making satisfactory arrangements. There should be specialized agencies or special personnel to be responsible for routine work. The party committee for agencies under provincial control decided to establish an office to make arrangements for the unemployed and to be responsible for making work arrangements for provincial organs. At present, the focal point of the work is to develop a collective economy. Before the Spring Festival we must once again initiate a group of collective economy organizations and make arrangements for 1,000 unemployed youths. The collective units that have already been set up should improve their management and administration so that they will continue to be strengthened and developed.

9864

CSO: 4005/534

WORK ON FOLK LITERATURE MUST GET HIGHER PRIORITY

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Hong Zhong [3163 6988]: "Work on Folk Literature Must Be Further Improved"]

[Text] During the 10-year period of domestic unrest, folk literature also suffered a damaging blow. However, under the line and policies and the guidance of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the speed and scope of its development has been unprecedented. Following two meetings of the Provincial Literary Congress, comrade folk literature representatives from various areas have come to appreciate the many functions served by folk literature and have acquired a better understanding of the relationship between folk literature and literature produced by established authors. It has come to be appreciated that since we all come under the influence of folk literature at a tender age, and that even established writers have to derive sustenance from folk literature, there is considerable truth to the premise that "folk literature is the mother of literature." The work of collecting and arranging folk literature has been going on at an unprecedented pace during the past 3 or 4 years. At a recent literary competition held in the province, 69 works passed preliminary selection and were recommended to the provincial [committee], and of these as many as 39 pieces of folk literature have been judged by the provincial selection panel and by the provincial appraisal committee to be of outstanding merit.

The works which have been selected deal with a wide range of themes and are in many forms. Some are folksongs about the old communist base and the Long March; some are stories about the exploits of the Red Army; some are stories which have been passed along about veteran proletarian revolutionaries; some are stories about peasant heroes; some are stories about skilled artisans; and some are new stories which reflect the new climate in the socialist era. Particularly worthy of note is the prominence of the folk literature of the minorities. The first, second, and third parts of the world-renowned epic "Gesar" were published in the Tibetan language. The number of copies published exceeded all publications previously published in a minority language. "The Taking of the Ali Gold Mine" and "The Battle of Men Ling" will also be published this year. "The Story of Akoudengba," an outstanding Tibetan folk tale, is a story about a sharp-witted person which has been widely circulated throughout Xizang.

Both the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the story have been published. The well-known Yi epic "Lewu Teyi", the refreshing allegorical poem "Erbierji" and the ingeniously intricate "Kexhi" have also been translated and published. Worthy of special note is the fact that such long narrative poems as "Mujiezhu yu Douanzhu" of the Qiang minority, who have no written language, have also been recorded and collated.

All these are examples of popular, time-tested, and long-lasting oral literature that has been widely circulated among the working people of the minority races and the collective creations of anonymous writers over hundreds of years. These works have a direct relationship with the working people, since these [people] not only are the characters depicted in these works but also are the narrators. They are not only the people who appreciate these works but also their creators. The thoughts that go through the minds of the working people, their feelings, their character, and their sentiments are also graphically revealed in these works. The interests of the working people, their characteristics and their style, etc., are also described in these works. In both content and form, these works have strong racial overtones and bear the stamp of the special features of the people and of their localities.

The review and selection of outstanding literary works go to show that our province has achieved gratifying results in the promotion of folk literature. However, we have taken only the first step in the right direction, and we have no reason to become self-satisfied and rest on our laurels. The Party Central Committee has pointed out the goal of our struggle to establish a socialist spiritual civilization of a high order. We should adopt a high standard in reviewing the work we have done and make more stringent and higher demands on ourselves in the future.

What are the problems that continue to exist, and where have we fallen short in the work of promoting folk literature in our province.

First, there is an imbalance in developing the work of collection and collation. In some prefectures (such as Wenjiang, Mianyang, and Liangshan), the leadership has paid more attention to the work, has a better grasp of the task at hand, and has achieved better results. In other prefectures, the leadership has not paid sufficient attention to the work and has adopted a laissez-faire attitude. The tales of fancy lanterns, the intricate songs, and the exploits of the Red Army in Fuling Prefecture have long been known to the country. However, no serious effort has been made to organize the necessary people to collect and collate them in a systematic and serious manner. The work is left to the collection teams organized by the higher-ups, who make sporadic efforts at collection. Although such haphazard efforts have yielded some results, only 1 item out of 10,000 is netted. In dealing with the work of collection and collation, it is necessary to pay attention to the different forms and different types of folk literature, instead of concentrating on one particular type to the neglect of the rest. In some areas, effort is made by the collection teams to collect only new stories, while other forms and types of folk literature are allowed to slip through their fingers. It should be realized that new stories are only one form of folk literature out of dozens, and that they are not representative of the entire body of work.

Secondly, the importance of folk literature has yet to be fully appreciated. Some people are reluctant to collect folk literature because they lack a correct appreciation of the importance of the creative work that has been passed orally by the working people over the generations and because they fail to grasp the fact that this type of "heave-ho" literature is actually the forerunner of literary creations. The birth of a new form of literature and the growth of a great writer owe a debt to the sustenance provided by folk literature. Furthermore, oral literary creations are derived directly from the masses and from life itself. Their content naturally is a direct, indirect, or refracted reflection of the historical, social, and racial features and the folkways existing at a particular period of time. They represent a lode of vivid historical, racial, and social material, some of which cannot be found in written records and historical volumes. Furthermore, oral literature, rich in imagination and uncanny in concept, is capable of providing people with a high degree of enjoyment of the esthetic and is possessed of a "permanent charm."

There is a tendency on the part of some to downgrade the old folk literature and to believe that the time has come to create a socialist type of new folk literature. They tend to equate folk literature with new stories and to reject all the rest. This view is incorrect both in theory and in practice. In the first place, it departs from Lenin's theory that racial culture consists of two cultures. In the second place, it goes against Lenin's brilliant line of thinking that "the culture of the proletarian class is not something that materializes out of nowhere and is not something that is molded by the hands of the self-styled experts of the culture of the proletarian class. All that is just so much balderdash. The culture of the proletariat should be a treasure trove of knowledge built up according to certain laws out of the oppression of a society dominated by capitalists, landlords, and the bureaucracy." In the third place, our experience over the years has proved that the treatment of new stories as a political activity will not sit well with the masses. The treatment of new stories as such will only create a hubbub and then disappear without a trace. Actual experience has proved that the search for new stories to the exclusion of other forms of folk literature is an exercise in futility and is therefore nonproductive.

Thirdly, sufficient attention has not been paid to the need to mobilize the rank and file. Since folk literature is scattered over an extremely wide area, it is necessary to make a strenuous effort to mobilize the resources in society to engage in the work of collection and collation. It is also necessary to have a certain number of professional personnel who engage in the work of collection, collation, research, and dissemination. The number of professional personnel available in the province, the prefectures, and the counties at the present time is far from adequate to cope with the work. It is hoped that the departments concerned will appreciate the need to develop the necessary personnel, to make a greater effort to invest in the development of talent, to develop the necessary number of professionals, to use them as a core to mobilize the various forces in society, to get the professionals and amateurs to make a joint survey of folk literature, and to go about the work at a more rapid pace.

Our province has abundant natural resources, great scenic beauty, an extended history, and a large population. It also is the province with the richest treasure trove of folk literature. The collection, collation, research, and dissemination of the folk literature of all the races in the province would not only go a long way in promoting the new socialist culture of the various races in our country, but it would also contribute to the work of building up a valuable collection of literature with its unique qualities renowned throughout the world. It is my hope that professional and amateur workers in folk literature will take positive action to implement the policy of "making an all-out effort to collect, collate, strengthen research, and effectively disseminate folk literature," and to intensify the work of promoting folk literature in our province so that it may be pursued on a higher plane.

9621

CSO: 4005/478

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BIGOTRY OF ARTISTS, ONE-SIDEDNESS OF THEORISTS DISCUSSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Feng Xianguang [7458 2009 0342]: "The Bigotry of Artists, and the One-sidedness of Theorists"]

[Text] Just as politicians are not infallible, artists, too, are not free from bigotry. Although it is common knowledge that to err is human, it does not seem that we are at all times mindful of the fact. In the past, we have suffered a series of reverses by treating every phrase and every word uttered by classic writers on Marxism as being sacred. It was only after we had been subjected to a series of ordeals that we woke up to the fact that we should take a firm hold of the entire system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and accurately analyze every piece of writing, every chapter, every paragraph, and every phrase of the classic writers in the cold light of actual facts.

However, it is not only in the drift and interpretation of the writings and utterances of classic writers that we can find traces of the "two whatevers" school of thought. I have found that, in discussing the theories of literature and art and in citing and expounding the writings and utterances of well-established artists, some comrades are not untainted by the "two whatevers." As if by coincidence, several articles I have read recently in support of the theory that emotions represent the essence of art all quoted Rodin's thesis that "art and the emotions are one and the same" as the best argument in support of their theory. It seems that just because Rodin happened to be one of the foremost sculptors in the world and a paragon in the realm of art, they believe that whatever he said about art represents the final word in the basic discipline of art.

The fact is, if we would give the matter some serious thought, we would come to realize that the conclusion that "art and the emotions are one and the same," a conclusion which has come to be regarded as Rodin's "last will and testament" and which has been incorporated into "Rodin's Dissertation on Art," is biased from the esthetic point of view and has no scientific basis. Experience in art appreciation tells us that art includes at least four elements--namely, intuition, emotion, imagination, and perception. If a piece of work merely stirs up the emotions, it is merely an expression and a depiction of the emotions and not a piece of art. A work of art invariably exerts a direct appeal to the beholder, leads him through the door to the realm of art, stirs up his imagination and association of ideas, and proceeds to unleash his faculty of contemplation and soul-searching. That is the charm and basic nature of art. Even

Rodin's own masterpiece "Oumiaier" [phonetic], (also known as the "Aging Courtesan") which has been described as being "so ugly that it is exquisitely beautiful," made use of the curled-up and crouching posture of that aged and emaciated woman to appeal to the spectator and to conjure up in his mind the exquisite beauty of the woman when she was in her prime, to inspire his commiseration and sympathy for this ludicrous and yet pitiful, deformed person, and to come to appreciate the enormity of the crime for which the capitalist system must be held responsible. How can that be adequately summarized in that one word "emotion?" In criticizing Tolstoy, who also held that art and the emotions are one and the same, Plekhanov said: "It is not correct to say that art is merely an expression of people's emotions. No, in addition to being a manifestation of human emotions, art is also an expression of people's thoughts, not in an abstract but in a vivid form. That is the chief characteristic of art." Eighty years later, Bulyanov's criticism of Tolstoy still merits the sober contemplation of those who hold that "art and the emotions" are one and the same.

Although "Rodin's Dissertation on Art" is not lacking in profound ideas that are both correct and penetrating, his view that art and the emotions are one and the same is not the only instance in which he has shown a certain bias. He also made so bold as to assert that "the only principle that applies to art is to copy down what can be seen." This is something that even those who hold that everything uttered by artists of renown is the unquestionable truth would be hard put to explain. It is our view that such aberrations are the products of the biased views of renowned artists. If, instead of analyzing and studying the utterances of renowned artists, we blindly idolize them to the point of superstition and regard every word they utter as immutable artistic truth, we will inevitably accept utterances of theirs that have no scientific basis as the essential discipline of art and will create confusion in the realm of theory. There is an urgent need for us to breach the forbidden emotional territory which has entrapped us over a long period of time and to look fearlessly into the question of the role played by the emotions in the area of art. Nevertheless, there are still some comrades who regard Rodin's one-sided view that "art and the emotions are one and the same" as the ultimate proverbial truth and thus reduce the essence of art to the emotions. No matter how sincere they may be in maintaining their subjective views, they have gone from one extreme represented by the "desensitization of literature and art" by the "gang of four" to the other extreme of contending that "literature and art have to do only with the emotions." A number of factors have contributed to this error. One factor which may be cited here is that we have failed to adopt a realistic attitude in analyzing and studying the utterances of renowned artists and have reverted to the familiar "two whatevers" mentality. Believing blindly in the biased views of renowned artists is bound to lead theorists into the trap of bigotry. Is that not something to which we should direct our thoughts?

The late well-known British modern poet Wystan Hugh Auden, in his "On Reading," said in an amusing way, "We can never believe unreservedly in the critical opinions expressed by a writer. Most of these opinions are manifestos in his own defense of what he should or should not do next. Furthermore, unlike scientists, he usually knows even less than the public what his contemporaries are engaged in doing." Auden was also a well-known artist. What he said in all sincerity should be analyzed and studied and not be accepted in blind faith.

The basic attitude adopted by Auden in his literary criticism of writers was "never to believe in something without reservation." This one-sided position represents the other extreme from those comrades who "believe without reservation." My opinion is that there is a great deal of merit in "never believing in anything without reservation" in the initial period, but that there is no harm in "believing in something without reservation" after a writer's views on art have been found to be correct upon thorough analysis and study.

9621

CSO: 4005/478

PRISON WRITINGS OF DISSIDENT LIU QING PUBLISHED

Hong Kong DONGXIFANG [EAST AND WEST] in Chinese Nos 30, 31 and 32, 15 Oct, 10 Dec 81

[No 30, 15 Oct 81 pp 52-67]

[Text] Editor's Note: The Chinese Communists were pretty nervous when Liu Qing's prison writings were published overseas. Their official news agency issued a denial alleging that the article was fabricated. Since what we received is a shorter version, instead of Liu Qing's original text, we have no scientific ground to pass judgment on its authenticity. After going over its contents, we believe it was written by Liu Qing, because nobody else could have done it for him unless he had been through what Liu Qing had experienced. So we decided to publish the full text even though it is a lengthy article.

The Chinese Nation was Not That Kind of Nation

I learned on 14 October 1979 that Wei Jingsheng would be tried in open court the following day. I passed the information on the certain unofficial publications and cell organizations in Beijing, and we agreed to meet in front of the Higher Court, No 1 Zhengyi Road, on the 15th at 0700 to get visitors' permits to witness the trial. The next day, when I arrived in front of the Higher Court, I saw a few foreign correspondents and the responsible heads of various unofficial publications and cell organizations shivering in the cold morning wind. There was a notice on the iron fence of the court saying that Wei Jingsheng would be tried on another date to be announced separately. We asked the receptionist at the Higher Court for the approximate date, but he said he did not know it. Judging by past experience, when a trial was postponed, it was usually postponed indefinitely. Surprisingly, I found out later in the evening the Wei's trial would begin at 0800 the following day (the 16th), and I also learned that visitors' permits were being controlled and issued inside the bureau. Since this was to be an open trial, why should it be so mysterious?

The arrest of Ren Wanding (head of the "Human Rights League"), Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Chen Lu, Zhang Wenhe and others in March 1979 had become such a

focus of attention at home and abroad that the foreign press which carried reports on the case had approached the Chinese leaders and the unofficial publications and cell organizations of Beijing for more information about their condition. What accounted for the concern at home and abroad about the fate of a few ordinary Chinese citizens? It was because the arrests stirred up a "cold March wind" blowing across the Chinese political arena that set the whole country and world reeling with doubts and misgivings. The public was not only concerned about their fate but was also anxious to learn the outcome of the case in order to take China's political pulse. I was also concerned about their fate. Realizing the difficulty of getting a visitor's permit inside the bureau (why did they want to issue the permits inside the bureau?), I went all over the city looking for a friend who had obtained a permit. I gave him a recorder and asked him to record the actual proceedings of the trial.

I got the tape back from my friend on the evening of 16 October, and several of us spent 4-5 hours transcribing it. We all agreed that Wei Jingsheng had violated the ruling against disclosure of secrets, but the court convicted him of two other, more serious crimes, and sentenced him to 15 years' imprisonment and a loss of his political rights for 3 years.

Such a decision was unacceptable to the public. It was a blow to democracy and the administration of justice, and also a warning that in China one had to be careful what he said. Genuine freedom of thought and speech had yet to be fostered by the force of history.

But it would take human effort to foster a just cause. If nobody was courageous enough to expose what was unjust and improper and if everyone turned away from it with his eyes closed, the cause of justice would not have the impetus to advance. A nation which tolerated and lacked the courage to tackle injustice would be bound to be eliminated, nor would it deserve any support or a better lot. The Chinese nation was not that kind of nation, because it had people who would risk their lives to speak out even against the most vicious tyranny. The unjust conviction of Wei Jingsheng stirred up such an outburst of debate because so many people were concerned. All the unofficial publications in Beijing agreed it was their duty to make the facts known to the world in order to draw more public attention to the case.

It was a very simple task to mimeograph the trial transcript; there was no need to involve all the unofficial publications. We knew at the time we would run into difficulties if we openly touched a sore spot of the "authorities." Unfortunately, our apprehensions were to be borne out by the facts later. So it would be unwise to let too many people take part in this "ill-omened" undertaking. Assisted by a few enthusiasts, I finally undertook it myself.

How Could One Plead for the Accused When There Was No "Criminal Law?"

I took over the task because I was better prepared and had an obligation to see it done.

The 5 APRIL FORUM had made its clear-cut political position widely known to the reading public. It differed from the candid and straightforward political viewpoint of TANSUO run by Wei Jingsheng. Being one of the conveners of the 5 APRIL FORUM, I had debated with Wei Jingsheng on our different political points of view. After Wei Jingsheng published the TANSUO editorial, "We Must Choose Between Democracy and New Dictatorship," I wrote articles discussing and questioning the validity of his position. As far as I knew, the official circles had not written anything seriously refuting his views, even though they hated him immensely. Perhaps they were afraid to boost Wei Jingsheng's stature by attacking him. The opinions expressed on the Democracy Wall were so divided that some praised him as their hero while others branded him as scum. I was the only one who wrote serious but simple articles to refute him. A friend of mine told me: "I really want to tear the trash you have written off the wall." So I felt nobody could call me his fellow-traveller even though they did not regard me as Wei Jingsheng's enemy. I believed innocently that my past record would be good enough to stop people from accusing me irresponsibly of being in league with Wei Jingsheng and enable me to speak out impartially without any reason for fear.

In June 1979, Luo Kejun [5012 0344 0971], a judge of the Beijing Higher Court, forwarded to me a request from Wei Jingsheng: "I want Liu Qing to defend me in court or he may find an attorney to defend me." After I got the request, I talked to certain people in the Department of Law, Beijing Daxue, and other legal experts. Since China at that time had not yet promulgated the "criminal code," I had to tell Luo Kejun: "Since China does not have a 'criminal code' for us to base our defense on, I am not in a position to accept Wei's request. However, if the court can provide me with something similar to a 'criminal code' or other relevant provision of the law, I will accept the request to defend him in court. We hope the court can give us permission to visit the prison and talk to the prisoner about the details of his case so that Wei Jingsheng can enjoy the real benefit of defense. Finally, on behalf of all the unofficial publications and a considerable number of individuals in Beijing, I should like to ask the court to give Wei Jingsheng an open trial." Whenever the "criminal code" was promulgated, a few friends and I planned to form a defense organization to defend Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua, Ren Wandong and others. It was a pity that before we had time to notify the court of our acceptance of the request, the court had already begun the trial. We, prone to traditional tardiness and indecision, did not act fast enough. Even though I had failed to defend them, I still felt morally obligated because the prisoner had showed so much confidence in me at the most critical moment.

I had had heated arguments with him on many occasions over our ideological differences. As we argued, I had been quite optimistic, believing that the leadership, just sobered by a fresh bloodbath, would not resurrect soon anything close to "vicious attacks," a weapon of the proletarian dictatorship. Listening to the trial transcript, I learned that criminal convictions at will, excessive and unjust punishments, still existed. I would have been contemptibly weak if I had failed to keep my word to expose and work for the elimination of these excesses.

The last but not the least important point was that the Chinese people could no longer let the rule of law be trampled upon and disfigured through political discretion. The Chinese people had to have the courage to make their concern about everything known to those inside the sacred forbidden area. They could no longer surrender their rights through blind obedience.

The impact of the unjust decision in Wei's case was so disastrous and far-reaching that every responsible individual had to be concerned.

The "Patriotic Bouncers" Who Crushed the Masses

Assisted by friends, I finished making handwritten copies of the transcripts at the beginning of November. We proofread the copies against the transcript many times. Except for the parts we missed due to mumbling and the changing of tape, the copies we made were absolutely accurate and true. Before we mimeographed over 1,000 copies, we copied the transcript on a big character poster and posted it on the "Democracy Wall" for those who had been waiting for it impatiently.

On 9 November 23 posted a notice on the Democracy Wall announcing the sale of the "Proceedings of Wei Jingsheng's Trial" on the 11th of the month. At about 1400 on the 11th, several thousand people had gathered in front of the sales notice. We began the sale ahead of the announced time, as requested by the crowd. Although I was assisted by about 20 people to maintain order, confusion and commotion quickly ensued, as everybody tried to get to the front to buy our limited number of pamphlets. While I was busy keeping order, a man with a familiar face gave me a gentle pull and asked to speak with me. I followed him to a quieter spot where he said to me: "The Public Security people are out to get you people. They will act within 30 minutes." I rushed back immediately, but it was too late. There was a panicky mass of humanity, some whispering nervously, some running aimlessly, others anxious to find out why. I saw Victoria of United Press International and her assistant, Liu Xiangcheng, and Wade of the Daily Telegraph. There were tens of foreign correspondents looking puzzled as they shrugged their shoulders. A few daring ones tried to take pictures, but their cameras were pushed aside by somebody in the crowd. People wearing hard hats were dashing back and forth in the midst of the crowd, which gave way quickly to avoid collision, thus forming a "lane of people." A man told me a raid was taking place, the pamphlets were being taken away, and people were being arrested. When he pulled me to the curb, I saw a "fully packed" bakery truck and another ambulance-like vehicle starting to move and then speeding away toward the west.

Later, people told me what had happened.

While I was away, the police had suddenly arrived. According to eyewitnesses, there were 70 or 80 of them, others even put the figure at over 100. Some blocked both ends of the sidewalk by the "Democracy Wall," while others charged into the crowd, grabbing pamphlets. One of the sellers was seized by three or four policemen, who twisted his arms back and pushed him "like an airplane" into an automobile. People who angrily asked questions were

beaten and pushed away with arms twisted back "like airplanes" to an automobile. The foreign correspondents watching the scuffle in front of the "Democracy Wall" were in a hurry to get their cameras ready to get a few price shots. However, those who tried to take pictures were pushed and beaten.

According to eyewitnesses, the "bouncers" were all in plainclothes, probably to show deference to the national axiom that patriotic people "don't wash their dirty linen in public." But I did not rule out that the bouncers had dual identities.

I remembered that when the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, the Central Committee had instructed all localities to let foreigners interview people and take pictures where they were permitted to visit. Was it conceivable that the "gang of four" cared even in the heyday of their abusive rule about respecting international custom and permitting foreigners to interview people and take pictures where they were permitted to visit, while the current law-enforcement public security personnel, committed as they were to promote the rule of law, should feel so insecure as to bar picture-taking by foreigners and trail behind the "gang of four?"

Reportedly, at least one of those arrested was a friend who had helped me sell the pamphlets. A young woman who had bought a few pamphlets was stopped by the police. When she refused to let go of the pamphlets she obtained in panic purchasing, she, too, was taken away indiscriminately. At least four were arrested.

"Remember, You People May Have to Serve 15 Years"

I made up my mind to go to the public security offices to argue the matter out. I alone should face all the consequences, whether legal or administrative, if the sale of the pamphlets was a violation of the law; none of those who had been arrested should have been implicated. If what I had done was lawful, the Beijing Public Security Bureau should have been responsible for releasing the arrested and returning the confiscated pamphlets. Yang Jing, an editor of 5 APRIL FORUM; Zhao Xing, a member of a key unit of the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE; Sun Yan, its public relations man; and a young girl I knew who was enraged by the arrests, offered to go with me to the Public Security Bureau.

The automobiles carrying the arrested went westward, away from the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The police who had confiscated the art objects shown at the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" had also come from that direction. This misled me into believing that the show of "martial art" was directed by the precinct of western Beijing. When we got to the west precinct and inquired about the incident, they told us they knew nothing about it but they said the police substation in the area where the incident occurred should know. So we returned to the West Chang'anjie substation. At first they denied any knowledge of the matter. However, when Zhao Xing identified a bespectacled policeman who had taken part in seizing the pamphlets and described how he had grabbed a pamphlet from the hands of a woman, they were ill at ease and admitted they had acted on the instructions of their superior.

They said they did not know the details. When we asked who their superior was, they tried to evade the question. Finally they asked their substation chief to see us.

He looked thin and walked in deliberately measured steps, which distinguished him from the average policeman. He was no stranger to me. His name was Liu and he used to be a policeman on the street where I lived. In about 1970, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were at the height of their power, he had made headlines in the newspapers as a pacesetter who knew how to make creative use of what he learned. I remember it was on 10 December 1968 that a group of Red Guards had broken into my house late at night and had taken me to a "study class" run by the West Changanjie substation, where I had been detained for 4 days. It was this policeman, later promoted to the position of substation chief, who had asked me imposingly: "Are you convinced that you should go to join your team?" Then I realized that I was being detained late at night in the study class because I had not followed the orders of this policeman to go to a village. Confronted by this policeman with a face proud enough to deserve a promotion, I had said to him firmly: "I am not convinced and I don't think I will ever be convinced." As a result, I had been kept in the study class for more than 40 days, after which they had to let me go because the study class had ceased to exist.

The moment he recognized me, he pretended to act like an old friend. But I asked him bluntly: What legal grounds do you people have to make arrests and seize pamphlets? If you do not have any legal justifications, I ask you to give me my pamphlets, set free the people you arrested and also give me an explanation.

Acting like police officer Ao chu mie lo fu [phonetic], he put on a poker-face and his smile disappeared as he made a long threatening statement. Judging by what he said, he was really acting on instructions from his superior. But he refused to identify the superior who had given him the order no matter how hard I tried to get the information from him.

I was furious because these policemen wanted to interrogate those who came with me separately, as usual. We made it clear to the police that I was the only one concerned with the pamphlets and I was also the only one who came to make inquiries. Those who came with me had nothing to do with the pamphlets; they accompanied me because they were concerned about those arrested and the incident as a whole. But the police insisted on interrogating those who accompanied me.

The substation was obviously not the place to get my problems resolved, and it was meaningless to argue with the police any further. So we left the West Changanjie substation and went to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, which was behind the incident.

The November weather was indeed unpredictable. It was sunny and mild in the afternoon, but the temperature dropped suddenly toward evening. Apparently we were going to face a new cold current. We braved the cold wind to get to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. When we finally arrived at the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors," we were so cold that we had

to clench our teeth to steady our nerves. I explained to the policeman on duty the purpose of our visit. He said inattentively that he would call his superior on the telephone in a minute. Before he had time to make the call, his superior, obviously more concerned over the incident than he, called him instead. The West Changanjie substation apparently had reported on the incident and our whereabouts. The man on duty suddenly became attentive and came to the entrance hall to talk with us. As soon as we touched on the legality of the arrests and the seizure of pamphlets by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, he defended their position and said that as long as the arrests and seizure were carried out by the public security authorities, they were all done in accordance with the law. In the eyes of this law enforcement officer, they were the law givers. I teased him by asking Yang Jing to jot this down and threatened to quote him when I found it appropriate. He appeared a bit uneasy, but he commented, as the saying goes, logically and philosophically: "The most you can do is to write a few articles and make a few speeches and get them published abroad. That doesn't hurt the Public Security Bureau at all. However, if you people are not discreet, it could cost you 15 years."

"The Law and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Their Ruthless Style"

We waited for a long time, and we were cold and hungry. Those who called on the telephone to ask about me kept us waiting in the cold hallway for more than 2 hours. No doubt they were seeking instructions, figuring out a way for a breakthrough and gathering information to reinforce their position. This was verified for me very quickly. Lao Wang, one of the four who worked in the "mass reception office," had to admit to me: "We can't say we don't understand you at all. You may say we understand you to a certain extent." I also considered carefully the whole situation and my own conduct. I was confident that my actions were lawful and proper. The Public Security Bureau would not be able to find legal justifications for what it had done. The Chinese public security agencies always believed that they were right and that they represented the dictatorship of the proletariat and the law. Moreover, they had developed a ruthless style. They expected everyone else to yield and confess mistakes in order to help them back away gracefully no matter whether they were right or wrong. They would never admit to me that they were wrong. These headstrong people tolerated by our society were prone to resort to the power of the "proletarian dictatorship" and forget their obligation to obey the law.

How could I cope with the situation? After careful consideration, I made up my mind to hold my ground before the law.

Since I would be fighting the battle singlehanded, anything might happen. But I was mentally prepared for the worst.

Four personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" finally came down at about 2200. Like the police at the West Changanjie substation, they started separately interrogating the four people, including Yang Jing, who came with me but who had not intended to talk to them. They did not want to speak to me, although I was the one who came to make inquiries and seek redress. Apparently they were trying to gather enough incriminatory evidence

in these separate interrogations to help them deal with me more effectively. I didn't care about that, but I would not tolerate the insult, abuse and intrigue. The four who came with me, including Yang Jing, and I told them over and over that I alone wanted to contact the Public Security Bureau, not those who came with me. They had come to keep me company and had nothing to do with the incident. But the officers still refused to listen to what we said. Finally, I said in protest that if the four officers did not care to receive me, I would leave. Then they turned around reluctantly to receive me.

The conversation took place in a small room within the reception office. The moment I entered the room, they acted as if they were going to try me. Pointing to a stool on one side, one of them said: "Sit down." Then he began shuffling and looking through the papers on the desk as though he was considering where the "trial" should start. As a matter of fact, the papers he was shuffling were blank. After a moment of silence, he said: "Let us talk about why you came here."

After giving them a brief summary of what had happened that afternoon, I asked four specific questions. First, what law had I violated when I mimeographed the transcript of the court proceedings? Second, what law had the man who helped me sell the pamphlets violated? Third, if the Public Security Bureau had no legal grounds for making the arrests and seizing the literature, I requested that they let me get back the pamphlets, and fourth, that they immediately release those who had been arrested for helping me sell the literature. If the Public Security Bureau had legal grounds, I was responsible for everything and nobody else had anything to do with it.

I Appealed to the Social Court of Justice

The oldest of the four personnel, a man named Wang, pondered in silence for a second and then took the offensive without answering my questions: "Where did you get the tape recording of the court proceedings?"

I told them that how I got hold of the tape had nothing whatsoever to do with the case in question. Wei Jingsheng had been tried in open court. Anyone who had recorded the actual proceedings to help more people understand the case by reading such firsthand information had not contravened the principle of a trial in open court. However, since the one who had made the recording did not want the Public Security Bureau to know his name because he had no faith in either the existing political system or the public security agencies, I was obliged to keep the secret for him. But if the Public Security Bureau regarded the recording as unlawful and could tell me what specific provision of the law I had violated and assure me that they told me the truth, I would explain to them how I had obtained the tape. I said I was willing to cooperate with the public security and judicial authorities to deal with the unlawful action.

Attempting To Blame Others for One's Own Unlawful Action

That day I felt even more confident of myself because the Public Security Bureau had absolutely no legal grounds for seizing the pamphlets and making

arrests. They had probably acted according to their "simple proletarian emotion and indignation" and had not considered the backlash of the question of the law. Consequently, when I pressed them to produce the law to justify their action, they realized they had no specific law to fall back on. Please note their amusing arguments:

The court did not authorize you to make the recording and produce mimeographed pamphlets.

The law did not say expressly that you, Liu Qing, could do it. The fact you did it was a violation of the law.

Wei Jingsheng was adjudged a counterrevolutionary by the court. The fact that you produced mimeographed pamphlets on the proceedings of his trial constituted counterrevolutionary propaganda, and that was a violation of the law.

If you would tell us where you got the tape and who owned the recorder, we would know whether the law was violated—for instance, whether the man who gave you the tape was a person of questionable character, whether he had any ulterior motives, and whether the recorder was stolen or obtained by unlawful means, and so on. It is practically impossible to repeat what he said.

It was baffling and disheartening to confront such a person and argue with him about legal principles. But I had to talk to these law enforcement personnel as if I were teaching them the rudiments of the law which regulated man's social conduct in the spirit of a basic law. The law punished a man who did what the law forbade. Needless to say, the law did not tell people what they could do. The binding force of the law did not extend to those areas where the law was silent. If what people could do also had to be specifically provided by law, then even an idiot would know how absurd it was. For instance, people had to eat every day, but so far there was no law anywhere in the whole world which regulated people's right to eat. If people ate, were they violating the law in the eyes of these four personnel of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau?

I did not have to do too much to refute their allegation that since Wei Jingsheng was a counterrevolutionary, the mimeographed pamphlets were meant to speak for him and to publicize counterrevolution. I called their attention only to the case of Zhang Zhixing and Ma Mianchen of Guizhou who had been given death sentences by the court on charges of counterrevolution, and the case of Yu Luoke who had been executed in Beijing for being a counterrevolutionary. There had been newspaper headlines about the redress or the possibility of redress of their convictions. I knew that four or five newspapers had begun collecting information to write about the life of Yu Luoke. I hoped the dedicated servants of the "proletarian dictatorship" would arrest those who dared to write in newspapers to publicize the rehabilitation of these "ghosts of dead counterrevolutionaries."

The most detestable thing was that they shamelessly questioned whether the recorder had been stolen or obtained unlawfully and whether the person who gave me the tape had been a questionable character. Obviously they were trying to find fault with me without any justifiable cause. I was surprised that they acted on a whim "to look for bones in an egg." I told them in no uncertain terms that their suspicions were groundless, and groundless suspicions amounted to insult. Such outright insult was a ruthless abuse of authority. I said I would not put up with their attempt to blame others for their own unlawful action.

My attitude infuriated these law enforcement personnel, who could not provide any legal justification for their action. In spite of my repeated protests, they still treated me as if I were being tried in court. They shouted and pounded the desk to make me reveal who had provided the recorder and who had helped in making the recording. I refused to cooperate and told them that they could not try me unless they arrested or detained me legally, or at least produced a summons for me to appear in court.

"Since You Have Come, You Must Answer the Questions or Else You Won't Be Allowed to Leave Here"

The personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" at the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau would be acting unlawfully if they tried a visitor without due process of law. If they regarded my action as serious enough to be tried, they should have complied with all the necessary legal procedures before they were qualified to put me to trial. Their disregard for the law was a sign of nervousness even though they appeared very firm.

Enraged by my insistence on regard for the law, they said to me emphatically: Since you have come, you must answer the questions. Otherwise, you won't be allowed to leave here."

I said it was unlawful to detain a person without due process of law, and that I would not yield to any unlawful action. I also reminded them that I had come as a visitor and that they were the receptionists. I said it would be incompatible with both their status and mine if they were to try me, extort confessions by force and threaten to imprison me.

They warned me arrogantly and "sarcastically": "This is an agency of the dictatorship."

This put an end to the need for further discussion. Objectively, the attitude of both sides was responsible for the deadlock. Having talked with the receptionists, I soon found out that the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had no prior knowledge of the contents of the pamphlets. It had not known who the seller was or his relationship with Wei Jingsheng, and whether or not they had shared the same ideology. The contents of the pamphlets the actual court proceedings, which appeared in a large character poster on the Democracy Wall more than half a month before they were out for sale, had been covered extensively by both foreign and domestic press. There was nothing so startling as to warrant such a massive police raid.

The funny part was that the large character poster, which covered more than the pamphlet (which covered only the first half of the proceedings) and had been on the Democracy Wall for over half a month, was kept intact by the masses even after the police raid. I suppose the appearance of my announcement to sell "the court proceedings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng" must have led the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau to two mistaken conclusions: 1) that the sellers must be Wei Jingsheng's ideological sympathizers, and 2) that the pamphlets were meant to defend Wei Jingsheng and to refute the court decision. Consequently, they had concluded that they could seize the literature and make the arrests and that they would have no problem finding valid cause to press the charge of violating the law. Even if that were not possible, those arrested could be frightened away, blaming themselves for the mishap and thanking the proletarian dictatorship for leniency.

"Kidnaplike" Detention Without Due Process of Law

Having made the arrests and finding that their "foolproof scheme" would not work, they had to have a pretext to frighten their adversary in order to save their own skins.

Frankly, I never rated very highly the Public Security Bureau, which often resorted to the "proletarian dictatorship" to frighten people. Now its ruthless, mean and vicious attitude had destroyed what little goodwill I had for it. The embarrassment and anger of the bureau could never have made me bend my knees to help those ruffians get away without any affect on their dignity.

Having failed to get what they wanted, these personnel left the room, probably to telephone to their superiors for instructions, to report on the case and make recommendations.

Meanwhile, a fuming, angry man over 40 entered the room and shouted at me: "Liu Qing, this is an agency of the dictatorship; you have come in and it won't be easy to get out. Don't think you are so important. We know how to handle a lad like you. You must answer my questions or else you cannot leave here."

I stared at him and asked: "May I know your name?"

He roared back: "That's none of your business."

I told him that since he knew me and my name, if he wanted to talk to me, he would have to identify himself and let me know his name. I said I would not talk with anyone whose identity I did not know. I refused to talk to him because he refused to identify himself and let me know his name. I asked him not to shout at me any more.

He shouted at the top of his voice, forcing sprinkles of saliva into the air: "Do you know what kind of place this is? Do you know what kind of place this is? This is an agency of the dictatorship. You had better behave

yourself. Liu Qing, you are not that terrific. You mustn't think we don't know how to handle you. We do.... Do you dare to say that Wei Jingsheng is not a counterrevolutionary? Do you dare to seek redress for Wei Jingsheng? Do you dare? Do you dare?"

What could I say to him? I realized I had entered the "Anding Hospital" by mistake. But I asked old Wang, who seemed to be the leader of the four, to consider the angry man's attitude, as anger was not likely to resolve the problem. Old Wang disagreed and pointed out: "This is an agency of the dictatorship." I leaned over the desk to catch some sleep while the room was filled with the fuming and shouting of this angry man. He kept shouting for about 15 minutes and finally dashed out of the room still fuming and choked with foaming saliva on his lips.

Yang Jing and the other three came in at about midnight and said: "Let's go home now." I tried to leave but the personnel working in the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" stopped me. This marked the beginning of my detention.

A severe cold current had actually arrived, and it was very cold that night. I had only a sweater and was practically frozen stiff. They sent over several policemen in heavy overcoats to watch me. The following day, I declared that a detention not carried out in accordance with legal procedure was kidnapping, and I went on a hunger strike to register my protest. By noontime, a man over 40, accompanied by a woman over 20 and a bespectacled man who had taken notes the evening before, sat facing me while I was curled up on a sofa without moving. After a minute or two, he asked my name in a soft voice. Then he said they had decided to detain me. I turned around a little and asked: "What for?"

He got to his feet all of a sudden and said aloud: "Get up and listen to the decision I am going to read to you." He pulled out a piece of paper and read it to me. I asked to see the paper. It was a form printed in black on newsprint. My name was filled in in the space for detainee, the reason given was violation of the maintenance of social order, and the duration of detention was 15 days. I returned the paper to him without saying a word as he waited for my response. I remained silent because I had to consider the case in the light of my knowledge of the law. He signaled to the two who had come with him: "Take him away."

I entered a sedan flanked by the bespectacled man and a policeman.

"To Act in Accordance with the Law Doesn't Imply Hard and Fast Rules; There Are Bound To Be Exceptions"

The young woman worked over 20 minutes to get the car past the huge iron gate of the Beijing Municipal Detention Center. Once we were inside the gate, I remained in the car for more than an hour while the driver of the car went into the building to keep warm. Finally, they called me in to go through the routine frisk and registration. Then a young policeman led me disinterestedly to a "cell." Before he left the office, he told the police who handled the

registration: "Send in one of our quilts. I am afraid the people in the building might refuse to take him. This is a temporary detention; don't fuss over the precedents."

I had had my doubts about that detention paper right from the beginning. Now what I had seen and heard convinced me that the detention paper I saw was a fabrication. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was playing unlawful tricks to intimidate me.

The very first step it took to handle the case was unlawful. In my judgment, it had to go all the way to complete the "journey" in order to save face.

The suspicion I had at first was later confirmed by what I learned from the guards during my prolonged solitary confinement. When I told policeman Liu, my guard, my suspicion and asked him to confirm it, he said: "I do not know whether your detention procedure was authentic or fabricated (of course he knew). Once the front gate admitted you, I have to receive you. If you have doubts, I will submit them to my superior for an answer." When the chief guard in Row 6 (a large cell) forced me to obey the humiliating rules of the detention center, I protested: "I have not been convicted. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau detained me unlawfully because it did not arrest me in accordance with legal procedure, nor did it detain me in accordance with proper procedure...." He said to me: "We know your situation very well, and we have already reported it to our superior. You say you are a realist. Then you ought to wait patiently for a solution...."

A young guard by the name of Wang in Row 6 was even more straightforward. He said in front of all the detainees of No 9, Row 6: "To act in accordance with the law does not imply hard and fast rules; there are bound to be exceptions. We have to lock up anyone committed on orders issued by the chief of the Public Security Bureau, the mayor of Beijing, the secretary general or a member of the party committee, even though he is not processed in accordance with legal procedures."

I learned afterward from more experienced people that the detention paper I saw was a fabrication, a "gimmick" of the Public Security Bureau. All formal detention papers were type-printed on glazed paper instead of old newsprint. "Detention papers" mimeographed on newsprint were used only for processing within the Public Security Bureau, and they did not have binding force outside the bureau. Moreover, a detention paper type-printed on glazed paper was not legally binding unless it bore the official chop of a law enforcement agency authorizing the detention. The detention paper they showed me did not bear any official chop. A formal detention paper had to be signed or endorsed by the detainee. My name had already been filled in in the detention paper they showed me, and they did not ask me to sign it. Finally, the detainee had to have a copy of the detention paper, but they did not give me one.

The reason for the detention was absurd. The "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" had become practically an omnipotent weapon of the Public Security Bureau. I remember I had read the

"Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" when I was much younger. As far as I could recall, I had not violated any of its provisions. But one cannot always depend on his memory and so I could not say for sure whether I had violated any of its provisions. I asked the interrogators, the recordkeepers and the guards many times to tell me exactly the provisions of the law I had violated. They either blushed and talked nonsense to evade my question or acted surprised and did not know what to say.

Later, I read the new "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order" of 1980, which contained only one provision on the sale of periodicals and printed matter: "The sale of reactionary, pornographic, or obscene publications and pictures already banned shall not be permitted." At least, the pamphlets I mimeographed could not be branded pornographic or obscene. I did not think anybody could call the proceedings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the Beijing Higher Court reactionary. Since I was the first one who had mimeographed them, these pamphlets had not been "already banned." So, according to the new "regulations," I had not violated any provision of the law.

The logic of the first interrogator was quite amusing. I asked him about the specific provisions of the "regulations" I had violated that were the ground for detaining me. He hesitated for a while and finally said to me: "You just admit the mistakes you made. There is no reason to be obstinate; obstinacy won't do you any good. We have no intention of locking you up even for one minute. It all depends on your attitude."

What did one's attitude have to do with such a question of law as whether or not to detain a person, or, as the interrogator put it, to lock or not to lock him up? Did that mean that a person who should have been detained would not be detained just because his attitude was good, while another who could not be lawfully detained would be detained because he was unable to please the Public Security Bureau? By the same token, should a convict who was sentenced to die be set free because his attitude pleased the Public Security Bureau? I was in favor of doing things in accordance with the law and would never agree "to accept the wishes of officials as the law," which had already done so much damage to the Chinese nation. So I did not pay any attention to his suggestion but asked quite candidly: "What are my mistakes and how are they related to the law?"

"Wei Jingsheng was pronounced a counterrevolutionary by the court. Your sale of the pamphlets was propaganda on his behalf. That was a very grave mistake."

I grinned: "What I offered for sale was the recording of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the court, without any comment by anyone. If you call that propaganda on behalf of a counterrevolutionary, aren't you saying that the court proceedings of the trial are propaganda activities on behalf of a counterrevolutionary?"

Somewhat shocked, he shouted back in anger: "Nonsense, you insult the court, you insult the law enforcement personnel."

The Public Security Bureau Was Like the Russian Troops "Invited" to Afghanistan.

"Have you ever studied logic?", I asked him.

It was impossible to continue the interrogation.

Like the Russian troops "invited" to Afghanistan without any solid justification for the "invitation," the Public Security Bureau was not able to pinpoint any specific provision of the law in answer to my question about the legal basis of my detention. I was sure that if this appeal were published, the Public Security Bureau, like the Russian troops, would still be unable to provide a clear-cut answer to this question, even if it were interested in it.

At first I was locked in No 9, Row 12, Building REN of the Beijing Municipal Detention Center. I was the only one locked in a room 15 square meters in size. It was at the end of the building, damp, gloomy and cold. I had to bundle up in a cotton-padded garment and curl up in a corner. For a time the joints of my left leg gave me so much pain that I had to grit my teeth every time I walked.

People of All Descriptions Were Secretly Seized and Kept Here

Row 2 was the most unique in the entire detention center. Instead of peeping stealthily at a mirror on the air vent of the door to keep an eye on what was going on in each cell, the guards depended on television to do the surveillance work. Although I was not able to verify this, I knew that whenever I touched the window, the guards were alerted immediately. Perhaps they had installed some kind of alarm device. When the guards pushed a button to open the door, there was always a frightening noise. A guard in his office could hear what the inmates were talking about because there were loudspeakers in all the hallways. One pushed a button on the cell door to get in touch with the guards. The radiator control and light switch were not inside the cell, as in the other rows. They were on the wall covered with a heavy metal screen. Here the lights were on 24 hours a day, sometimes glaringly bright and sometimes so dim that one could hardly read a newspaper. When I was in No 4, Row 2, I saw angry remarks written on the cell wall by Wang Zhenxiong, an overseas Chinese from California, who had marched with Fu Yuehua in a demonstration and had been secretly arrested without due process of law. I could still make out messages left behind by those arrested during the "5 April" period. Later, when I moved to No 10, Kuai Dafu was my nextdoor neighbor in No 11, and Sun Fengyi, the second person to put his signature on the "First Marxist Big Character Poster," was in No 18, across the hallway. Finally, I found out that Chen Lu, who used to handle the organizational work for the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, was in a cell facing me. I learned from what he had told the guards that he had been "invited" over by two plainclothes policemen for a talk. I left him a message on the toilet wall: "Greetings from No 76 to Tianjing No 2 (No 2 was a liaison point of the Human Rights League and No 76 was my home address). Victory depends on persistent pursuit of truth." He never answered my greetings. Wei Rongling told me later that he

had been rather pessimistic about the democratic movement. But we succeeded in meeting twice to exchange greetings. The guards must have become aware of our secret, because Chen Lu was moved away all of a sudden.

I was in solitary confinement, in Row 12 and Row 2, for 5 months. When I was in Row 12, a young guard asked me whether I was bored and would like to have a companion. I said of course I would. He said he would try to take up the matter with his superior. The next time we met, he did not say a word but gestured with his hands to show disappointment. Solitary confinement was illegal even for a convict accorded due process of law. In 1979, Zhao Cangbi [6392 5547 1048], minister of public security, issued a circular banning solitary confinement. This was a minimum protection of human rights. Solitary confinement was detrimental to the physical and mental health of the inmate. It was an absolutely unnecessary, inhumane and cruel persecution.

Once I stayed in the same cell with Hong Taoxing. He had been committed to solitary confinement for 8 years, followed by 3 years of reform through labor. He had been arrested again within 1 month after his release, and had been locked up again for nearly 3 years already. Although he had been out of solitary confinement for 5 years, he still could not speak clearly. He felt such a numbness in his tongue that speaking was hard work. The emotional injury he sustained was even more obvious. He told me that when he had been in solitary confinement the guard had tried to kill him and had fed him poison. He said he had managed to keep some of the poison as evidence to charge them once he was released. More dreadful still was his account of a sensitive electronic device in his cell which he said could control his thoughts and induce him to think about the evidence the authorities needed. He said it could also record his thoughts so they could be used against him the next day during interrogation. He claimed the device kept prompting him to commit suicide. He thought like a normal person the moment he stopped talking about those things.

His mental condition reminded me of another friend, Guo Lusheng, whose celebrated poem, "Have Faith in the Future," had been treasured for more than 10 years by the youth of the whole country. His protracted suspicion that people were controlling his thoughts had led him to schizophrenia. After he was cured, he still seemed a bit abnormal. His old illness returned just a few days after the conviction of Wei Jingsheng, and he ended up in "And-ing Hospital."

"Let Me Return to the Blue Sky!"

My solitary confinement was rather short and did not hurt me much. However, I noticed a few changes. One day I saw lots of loose hair on my blanket. When I looked in the little mirror on the door vent, I discovered I had begun losing hair and was bald on top. The cell was so gloomy and cold that I had to curl up in a corner. That may very well have been the cause of the swelling and pain in my left leg. I had been nearsighted for a long time, but it became worse. I sometimes talked to myself as though I were holding a heated debate. I also recalled mathematical and chemical formulas and wrote signs and symbols on the wall as if trying to solve problems. In particular,

I missed my mother and felt grieved by the trouble I was causing her in her old age. It was April, and I saw outside the broken window of the toilet a small green budding leaf pushing out of the dark mud by the tall surrounding wall. It was so green that it caught my eye immediately. I felt a strong urge to get under the blue sky.

I realized that my yearning for freedom was futile because my interrogators and the superiors who gave them instructions would not and could not let a legally free man return to freedom under the blue sky. They wanted the persecuted to plead guilty in order to show that their unlawful acts were lawful and correct. I could not yield because I knew I would not trade my clear conscience for the natural blue sky.

The first interrogator questioned me only once and never returned. Maybe he was baffled by his own confusing logic or may be he had shown emotion unbecoming to an interrogator when I challenged his logic. At any rate, he had disappeared "like a migratory bird."

Substituting One's Own Concept of Right and Wrong for the Law

The second interrogator was a whitehaired man over 60, but he still remembered things very well. He loved to brag about himself. He told me many times, more than 10 times to be exact, that he had been one of the first group of victims of the criminal acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and he said that I must not treat him the way he had been treated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But how should I treat him? Should I wear a smile and wait on him while the Public Security Office arrested and detained me unlawfully without justification and plotted against me secretly?

This interrogator really had something to brag about. I noticed that the recording clerk acted very respectful in his presence. On another occasion, when he was interrogating me, I noticed a young woman over 20 years old acting bashfully in speaking to him. I overheard the recording clerk telling another woman that he had come from the Public Security Office in a chauffeur-driven automobile to interrogate me.

This was how I and the second interrogator began our protracted sessions. After I sat down, he looked at me for a while and then asked me in a concerned tone whether I was nearsighted. I answered him politely. Politeness was often interpreted as being uninterested. He was silent as he went through the papers in front of him. He asked me: "Whose recorder is it, who made the recording for you?"

This immediately led us into a heated argument. The regrettable thing was that this gentleman, who claimed to have been cultivated by the party for decades, did not appear to have any better knowledge of the law than the personnel of the "Reception Office for Mass Visitors" of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Equally bad was the fact that they all took their own concept of right and wrong as the law and had no respect for the specific provisions of the written law. This was a failure of the society we lived in, and there was not much we could do about it.

It was not that we should not blame the people for this phenomenon brought about by history, the Chinese society and its culture: it was a different story with the law enforcement personnel, who were educated and trained in the law. Their failure to distinguish between the two might very well be construed as "fishing in troubled water." I made it clear to this whitehaired interrogator that they could interrogate me and I would agree to be interrogated in accordance with the law provided they proved to me that they had complied with lawfully provided procedure.

The whitehaired interrogator told me that I was being detained for investigation, and that I would know the reason and conclusion as soon as the investigation was over.

I said they could not detain me for investigation without justification, and I would not accept "the wishes of superior officials" as the ground for my detention and investigation.

He came 2 days later to tell me that the legal ground for detention was a 1949 State Council decree on the right of news reporting. He read me the gist of the decree: The right to report all important news, such as government organization, proclamations, state business, foreign relations, warfare, important construction projects, the discovery of important mineral resources, and cases of nationwide importance, was assigned to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. Unless authorized by the State Council, no newspaper, publication or periodical should report such matters. The interrogator said that since Wei Jingsheng's case had been a case of nationwide importance, I had violated the decree by mimeographing the pamphlets.

You Must Answer the Questions Unless You Are Dead!

Having detained me for nearly 10 days, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau finally came up with a written decree to justify my detention. Even though it came a bit late, it still represented some plausible progress in law enforcement in China. They no longer believed that whatever they did was lawful as long as it was in the interest of the "proletarian dictatorship." Instead, they wanted to have something written to prove the legality of their actions. But was this decree applicable to my case?

News always meant a piece of new information reported to the public for the very first time. If it had been reported already, it would be difficult to regard it as news. Wei Jingsheng had been tried by the Beijing Higher Court on 16 October. BEIJING RIBAO had carried the news on 17 October, and other papers had simply relayed its version. In fact, all important foreign newspapers had simply relayed its version. In fact, all important foreign newspapers, publications and news agencies had also carried reports on the case. It had featured even more prominently, as pointed out by Xia Yan at the fourth literary congress, than that important speech of Ye Jianying. Many foreign journalists had written voluminously about the case. As a matter of fact, reports and comments on the case also had multiplied in China. I had offered the pamphlets for sale on 11 November 1979, long after the case had been so colorfully covered by the press, nearly 1 month after Wei's first

trial, and quite a few days after his second trial. Any reasonable person would have agreed that it was no longer news or even "old news." The 1949 State Council decree assigned the exclusive right to report all important news to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY. But BEIJING RIBAO was the first one to report Wei's trial, while RENMIN RIBAO and other newspapers simply relayed the BEIJING RIBAO account. This showed that the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY had not regarded Wei's trial as important news falling within its exclusive reporting right. Consequently, it had not covered the trial, nor had it published any report. BEIJING RIBAO also had not considered that it was contravening any law in covering and reporting the case. If the decree had in fact been violated, BEIJING RIBAO should have been the first offender to face prosecution, while the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY might have been suspected of dereliction of duty. I doubted that BEIJING RIBAO and NCNA would accept the interpretation of the decree by the Public Security Bureau.

There was also the question of the jurisdiction of the different courts. The supreme court had jurisdiction over all national and important regional cases, while ordinary criminal cases subject to punishment ranging from 5 or more years of imprisonment to the death penalty and counterrevolution cases were tried by the higher courts. Wei Jingsheng had been tried by the Beijing Municipal Higher Court. Consequently it had been an ordinary case, and not a case of nationwide importance over which the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY had the exclusive reporting right.

The government could always find grounds to incriminate a person. However, if it wanted to have "grounds" for incrimination, it should have weighed carefully the "grounds" it had. Its efforts would be self-defeating if the "grounds" left too many loopholes for the public to gauge the real motive behind them. Personally, I thought the difference between one who misused the "grounds" and one who resorted to brutality was what distinguished a bedbug from a mosquito, as Lu Xun had described: A mosquito buzzes around with its rhetoric to justify why it bites a person and why that person deserved the biting. The bedbug, on the other hand, simply charges ahead quietly and bites as hard as it can. Even though I intended to spurn such a legal ground, still I made it clear that the provision was not applicable in my case. Surprisingly, told me in anger and frustration "You won't be able to get away with your refusal to answer our questions. Let me tell you, you must answer the questions, no matter where or when, unless you are dead." Now, I was no longer permitted to answer the interrogator's questions in accordance with the law; I must answer their questions the way the authorities wanted.

After a few arguments, he became quite blunt and handed me a kind of "ultimatum." He said: "You have to answer my questions, even if you did not violate any law. Let me tell you, we have many different ways to handle you. We can tell the public what kind of person you are. We can convict you in accordance with old precedents, the unwritten law which evolved in our internal policy or other established practices. We can also lock you up indefinitely and make you serve your time as long as we want. Let me remind you that the 'criminal code' will not take effect until 1980. This is 1979 and we can decide the case in accordance with previous precedents."

He was telling me bluntly that they did not have to act in accordance with the law and could do what they wanted. Moreover, they were threatening me openly. A few days before, the whitehaired interrogator had made veiled threats on more than one occasion, but I had played dumb and showed no sign of concern. In threatening me, he had said that I had concealed my real age and changed my personal history when I applied for college and that I had filled out my own sick leave slips for the unit I worked for.

These measures the Public Security Bureau used were not new to me. After Ren Wanding, Wei Jingsheng, Fu Yuehua and others were arrested, there had been rumors based on information from the Public Security Bureau that so and so, a member of a counterrevolutionary group, had been smuggled across the national border to work against the country; that so and so had received huge sums of money from Taiwan and Western countries to run intelligence operations and carry out subversive activities; and that so and so had led a loose life and used to sneak into foreign embassies to practice prostitution. But the trial of Wei Jingsheng and Fu Yuehua had shown me how much one could believe these rumors.

After my detention began, I had expected to hear rumors like that even without being reminded by the interrogator. What he told me led me to believe that they had already done what I had suspected. Their tactic of covert slander could only enrage instead of frightening one dedicated to the pursuit of truth and the wellbeing of his country. People made mistakes. Did anybody ever hear that only faultless people were qualified to show concern for society and the masses, while "those less than faultless" were the "concern" of everybody else? The fact that the Public Security Bureau resorted to "many different ways" to deal with me showed that to defend its own dignity, the Public Security Bureau would not hesitate to "discipline" a person whom it had no legal authority to punish but who refused to bow in submission to its "overpowering" authority.

In view of the bluntness of what the interrogator had said, I had to decide what to do next, because it was futile to argue with the law enforcement agencies. Therefore I decided to appeal to the public for a solution to the problem and to let people know as soon as possible the true facts in order to mobilize public pressure to put an end to these unlawful actions. I considered that we should not let the Public Security Bureau believe that it could do what it pleased, while the public could not even register its displeasure. I had to act quickly to expose to society the firsthand information I possessed.

Having made up my mind to appeal to society and having studied their psychology and the actual conditions, I decided to stop asking them to provide a legal basis to justify their actions and to abide by truly creditable legal procedure. Instead, I would resort to silence in answer to some of their questions. This was depressing but necessary because there was no alternative.

In a word, my approach was noncooperation and nonconfrontation. One could cooperate only with law-abiding reasonable people, but not with those who relied on power and brutality. Confrontation would be gratifying but it

would cost dearly, so I decided to abandon it. But I swore I would expose them to the best of my ability whenever possible.

The following were the questions asked by the interrogators and my answers, plus explanations, especially the explanations. I put all these in writing so that those who read them would see that the questions asked by the Public Security Bureau were not matters of its concern nor within its authority to inquire into. I put my emphasis on the explanations because they were problems facing the democratic movement, and I wanted to avail myself of the opportunity to express my own views.

Before I take up these questions, I should like to discuss a problem of law. The focus of my emphasis so far, which had baffled the Public Security Bureau, was my persistent request that they produce a legal basis for the way they treated me.

Some might think what I was after was to show that "no action was criminal unless there were express legal provisions at the time of its occurrence" or that "criminal responsibility was not retroactive." In reality, I was not pursuing legal technicalities. I knew that the Chinese "criminal law" provided that any act deemed criminal but not expressly stipulated in the law could be prosecuted, provided it was submitted to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to be examined and declared a legally binding precedent. I requested during the interrogation both in the Reception Office for Mass Visitors and afterward that if they could not produce any express provisions of the law and yet regarded my action as criminal, they could turn me over to the procuratorate for formal prosecution, and I would defend myself in court. But they never did this in spite of my repeated requests. Those ludicrous law enforcement personnel were probably afraid to act in accordance with legal procedure. The reason I stressed the importance of legal provisions was that I wanted to prove that I did not act against any written law before I proved that my arguments were "logical and well founded." In my appeal to the social court of justice, I had to consider popular psychology and demonstrate that I was innocent in the eyes of the law and correct both logically and ethically.

The questions asked by the interrogators fell into five categories.

1. Questions About the 5 APRIL FORUM

The interrogator began by asking about the founding and organization of our 5 APRIL FORUM.

At the beginning of 1979, the 5 APRIL FORUM had written to the Central Propaganda Department, the Publications Bureau, the Public Security Bureau and the Office of Taxation to apply for registration and to pay the required taxes. But our letters had vanished like lost kites. This showed that we had no intention of concealing our organization, and had filled out the required forms waiting for registration. They had not let us register and had denied us the constitutional right of freedom of association and freedom of press. Thus, we had been forced to use a mimeograph, a primitive form of

printing. By denying us the right of registration, they had lost a proper vehicle to inquire about our conditions. But we had not wanted them to imagine things behind closed doors in their offices or to become biased by information fed by "special agents." We had done our best whenever possible to let the authorities concerned have an objective understanding of our activities. When Tang Xin of BEIJING RIBAO had come to see us, we had explained to him in detail about the founding and organization of 5 APRIL FORUM and had invited him many times to attend our meetings.

If the interrogators had known how to use approaches other than "police interrogation," they could have obtained lots of firsthand information instead of sketchy reports.

The interrogator was interested in some members of the 5 APRIL FORUM.

The first one he mentioned was Lu Pu.

Lu Pu's father, Lu Ji, had been president of the China Music Association. In November 1978, Lu Pu had posted on the Democracy Wall a large character poster containing "An Open Letter to Cong Fusheng" to refute Cong Fusheng's remarks in "In the Midst of Silence" that the 5 APRIL FORUM had been motivated by its love for Premier Zhou and its hostility toward the "gang of four." He thought those were superficial reasons. In reality, this reflected the dissatisfaction of the Chinese people with a stagnant economy, a declining standard of living and extensive restriction of freedom of thought.

The appearance of the article immediately turned the Democracy Wall on Xidan into a site bustling with activity, drawing worldwide attention to a "democratic movement" it had set in motion, which advocated political reform to provide China with democracy and the rule of law. Tang Xin, a reporter of the internal reference department of BEIJING RIBAO, had described Lu Pu as "the man who lit the torch at the Democracy Wall," an expression he got from someone else.

Lu Pu had always used his work card number, 538, to sign the articles he published. He had joined 5 APRIL FORUM in February, after we had had an extensive exchange of views. He had become one of three conveners of 5 APRIL FORUM on the recommendation of Xu Wenli and myself. We had been reelected to serve consecutively after our reorganization. He was a careful thinker with an ardent sense of social responsibility and political acumen. In October 1979 he had written 5 APRIL FORUM a dubious letter "to be kept on record" in which he had asked for a long leave of absence. It was said that he and Wang Juntao, assistant chief editor of SPRING IN BEIJING and a student of Beijing Daxue, had had a 4-hour discussion in Hu Yaopang's house about their views of the "democratic movement." I heard later that in a report given at a high-level party school, Hu Yaopang said he had won over the son of a cadre, an influential figure, at the Democracy Wall. It was he. But Lu Pu told me he had held his ground in the debate even though there was no way for him to continue the debate.

In addition to his general interest in Lu Pu's condition, the interrogator also asked about his understanding of the four principles.

Lu Pu and I had not been able to agree on two particular ideological issues.

The first point had been our evaluation of Chairman Mao. He had thought the Great Cultural Revolution was a damaging error for which Chairman Mao was criminally responsible, or at least inexcusably wrong. He had believed it was due to Chairman Mao's monarchical aspirations. I had thought that the Great Cultural Revolution was a big mistake, but that it only accelerated the spread of a chronic disease of our country, our society and the power structure, but did not "create" another chronic disease. Its mistake was the failure to cure that chronic disease. Relatively, the Cultural Revolution had contributed to emancipating the mind and destroying godlike images. As a matter of fact, emancipation of the mind had been one of charted objectives of the Cultural Revolution. Although the direction of the drive to emancipate the mind did not quite agree with the anticipations of those who had launched the campaign, its overall direction had been in keeping with the objectives set down at its beginning.

The second point had been our assessment of the proletarian dictatorship. He considered it necessary to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, without which the state would become defenseless. Consequently, he thought that the freedom of the press should not be unlimited and that opposition to socialism and Marxism should be punished.

I had not been able to accept his views on proletarian dictatorship and freedom of the press.

Who were the proletarians in our society at the time? We did not think we could identify them. If we could not even identify who the proletarians were, how could we talk about proletarian dictatorship?

The orthodox concept of class distinction rested on the position of each individual in the economic life of the society in which he lived. This covered his possession of the means of production, the role he played in production and finally whether he exploited others or was exploited.

If the exploiting class consisted of capitalists and landlords who owned the means of production and if proletarians, poor peasants and tenant peasants were the exploited, we would not be able to distinguish them in presentday China. Property under socialism, including the means of production, was owned by the whole people. If the ownership of the means of production were a mark of class distinction, then everybody would be a capitalist. That would be ridiculous. If not, then there wasn't a single capitalist in the whole country.

Furthermore, were the peasants proletarians or capitalists? Nominally, the peasants owned the land and related means of production collectively. But their right over the land was extremely limited. They could not sell or transfer the land as they wished, and they did not even have the complete right to decide what to grow and how to grow it. If the knowledge one had in one's mind was not capital and brain work was not labor, then all intellectuals were proletarians. If our society was not considered to be converted to a state capitalism, then all government employees were proletarians.

If this were true, then our country had only a proletarian class, and who would be the object of the dictatorship?

Speaking of exploitation, except for those in power who could "exploit" by unlawful and improper means, there was no other vehicle of exploitation. That kind of "exploitation" no longer meant what it had formerly meant. By exploitation, we meant those who occupied commanding positions in production and earned huge "remunerations" in the form of profits, land rent, stock dividends, and so on by means of capital and other means of production protected by the law. Material gains obtained through power, unlawful and improper means constituted, in reality, corruption and bribery. I did not want to comment on whether it was exploitation for the leaders of our country to be so well treated, because I did not have enough data on hand and had not studied the problem.

People might say that even though the exploiting class had been destroyed, its huge corpse, not yet buried, still emitted harmful poisons, which was what the proletarian dictatorship should cope with. This, however, was an ideological dictatorship instead of a class dictatorship. But ideological delineations were not as distinct as economic positions. There were bound to be proletarians with capitalist mentality who wished to exploit other people, just as there were capitalists with proletarian mentality, such as the well-known (Sir) Thomas Moore, (Count de) St-Simon, (Alfred) Fouillee and (Robert) Owen. How were we going to apply the dictatorship? Moreover, an ideology which existed in one's mind and did not actually harm or exploit anyone else should be free instead of being trampled upon by the rule of the dictatorship.

In reality, the proletarian dictatorship in our country was mainly a means to suppress those who did not agree ideologically with the highest authority. This meant to suppress "counterrevolution." The suppression of this kind of "counterrevolution" seriously disrupted the democratic system of our society, undermined the civil rights provided by the constitution, and killed public enthusiasm and practical endeavors.

In our presentday society, the concept of revolution versus counterrevolution was just as unwarranted as the emphasis on proletarian dictatorship.

The interrogator also asked in detail about Xu Wenli and told me to write a report on him. Obviously, as he had indicated, he wanted me to provide him with information damaging to Xu Wenli because Xu was a very influential figure on the Democracy Wall. He, Zhao Nan and Hou Congzhe had been the sponsors and founders of the 5 APRIL FORUM and had worked hard to get the 5 APRIL FORUM formally established in January 1979.

He was an outstanding organizer, capable of getting young strangers together to work peacefully to produce written material. He volunteered to bear the brunt of the daily routine of 5 APRIL FORUM. He was so busy that for quite some time he slept only 2 to 3 hours a day. He offered his own bedroom to 5 APRIL FORUM for use as an office. He was one of the conveners of 5 APRIL FORUM and the frontline commander of the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration

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on 1 October 1979. Foreign correspondents had interviewed him many times and had written extensively about him. I am afraid the report on Xu Wenli which I wrote for the Public Security Bureau was a disappointment to them. I emphasized Xu Wenli's sense of social responsibility and historical urgency, his organizational talent, his self-sacrificing outlook and his emancipated mind. Although I might have praised Xu Wenli a bit excessively, yet as far as the Public Security Bureau was concerned, I think I was entitled to sing the praises of my courageous and dedicated friend.

The interrogator also asked about Wang Chong, especially the pseudonyms he used and the articles he had published. Wang Chong was an editor of 5 APRIL FORUM, a major contributor. A young student of the People's University majoring in economics, he was a fast writer and fast thinker. He wrote at least one article for each issue of 5 APRIL FORUM.

The interrogator asked about all the members of the 5 APRIL FORUM. Even though I had a suspicion that 5 APRIL FORUM might have been infiltrated by "special agents" and traitors, I thought they had all been ideologically independent young people, full of a sense of social responsibility, dedicated and career-minded. So I was glad to provide the interrogator with my impressions of them all.

In January 1979, all the government agencies of Beijing had circulated a document issued by the Beijing Municipality attempting to discredit the Democracy Wall, all the unofficial publications and cell organizations. At that time, the public impression of the Democracy Wall and the unofficial publications was mixed. To improve our distorted image and to win social approval, all the unofficial publications found it necessary to call a big discussion meeting in order to let the public know our objectives, our platform, what we wanted to do and the reasons for what we were trying to do. At the same time, we wanted to prove to society that we had the courage to speak out instead of spreading rumors. The meeting was attended by representatives of the unofficial publications, including 5 APRIL FORUM, TODAY, PEOPLE'S FORUM, ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY, REFERENCE INFORMATION FOR THE MASSES, HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, and TANSUO.

2. Questions About the "Joint Conference"

The meeting took place on 28 January 1979 and was later called a protest meeting. After the meeting, everybody present wanted to retain some form of permanent meeting to keep in touch and exchange views. So we formed a "joint conference" consisting of one delegate from each of the seven unofficial publications. They asked me to be the convener of the "joint conference", possibly because they were considering using my home as its office and because I did not like to interfere in the internal affairs of other organizations. The organization was blown to pieces by the end of March 1979 by a gust of ill wind. So I declared the conference in recess indefinitely. Later, during the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" incident, the 5 APRIL FORUM, TODAY, and SPRING IN BEIJING proposed to join some other unofficial publications, such as FERTILE SOIL, to organize another "joint conference," and they asked me to serve again as its temporary convener. But this organization was aborted before it saw the light of day.

The first "joint conference" lasted about 3 months, during which we met once a week and a few more times in emergency. It lacked efficiency because of ideological differences among the member unofficial publications. The only meeting open to the public took place on "28 January." Later, we tried on several occasions to hold public meetings, but they never took place due to lack of unity. After Fu Yuehua's arrest, her brother had contacted the "joint conference" to appeal to the public for help. However, due to rampant rumors and speculation, the "joint conference" found it unwise to step out in full force to support Fu Yuehua, whose case had become clouded by rumors that she "had sneaked during the night into Japanese and American embassies possibly for purposes of prostitution" and had had very little contact with the unofficial publications as her activities had been confined to those who had come to seek redress, even though those rumors were hard to believe. Having no evidence to rule out the suspicions, nor any compelling reason to oversee the case, the "joing conference" voted to study the case first and then decide what to do as soon as the situation became clearer. In the meantime, it organized two delegations of reporters on two separate occasions to interview the relatives of Fu Yuehua, those who knew her, her neighbors, the police substation concerned, the public security office in the Xuanwu section, the Beijing Municipal Reception Center at Gongdelin and the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. We played the recordings of these interviews for the "joint conference" to study.

We edited all the information we gathered, copied it on large character posters, and posted them on the Democracy Wall to provide the public with firsthand materials to help them form their own judgment. In July and August 1979 the 5 APRIL FORUM held meetings to appeal on behalf of Fu Yuehua, Wei Jingsheng and Ren Wandong, who had been held without trial for too long. We knew that what we had done was not enough, but we did what we could. These activities would no doubt make the memory of an activist at the Democracy Wall live in China and abroad for quite some time to come. Our work may have been unsatisfactory, "too litte" and too weak to some people, including Fu Yuehua's relatives. Here I wish to quote what Chu Ziqing said: It was impossible to achieve complete satisfaction; I did my best to keep my conscience clear.

The most taxing problem the "joint conference" faced was the factional squabble between the "Ren clique" and the "Chen clique" within the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE, which had left a bad taste in Beijing.

In February 1979, ENLIGHTENMENT SOCIETY of Guizhou had split into an "Editorial Committee" headed by Huang Xiang, an "Editorial Department" headed by Qin Xiaochun and Yang Zaixing, and a "Thaw Souery" headed by Li Jiahua. Their dispute had reached a deadlock by the end of March, and they decided to call a democratic discussion meeting in Beijing during May to put their dispute to public debate. This was customary, because people who joined the "democratic movement" were bound to differ in ideologies and aspirations. Some were prompted by an ardent sense of social responsibility, a sense of history and urgency. Others who dedicated themselves to public interests were driven by personal grudges or were disillusioned with certain social phenomena. It was therefore difficult to avoid disputes in working with them.

That was unavoidable in any social movement. Even if everyone were dedicated wholeheartedly to public interests, they could still run into arguments due to ideological differences, differences of position and the breadth of individual viewpoints. Arguments and debates were healthy because they would help clarify ideological confusion and obsessions. I was in favor of debates. I thought that if we had internal squabbles, we should resort to pen debates, it called for, to clarify who was right and who was wrong. But it was not the right time for them to travel from Guizhou to Beijing to argue out their differences, because the unofficial publication was facing a credibility problem created by fast-travelling rumors and allegations and the split in the HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE. We simply could not afford another big battle from Guizhou. Consequently, the "joint conference" told those from Guizhou in no uncertain terms that we would not welcome them to Beijing to stir up more controversies. We were able to stop them from publicizing their differences in Beijing. That was something the "joint conference" did not want to do and yet had to do.

The "joint conference" also helped the participating unofficial publications to conclude a number of agreements, one of which was the four-point mutual obligations previously referred to.

After Wei Jingsheng's arrest, Yang Guang, who later testified in court, wrote us a letter asking me to carry out the "four-point agreement." The 5 APRIL FORUM kept its promise and carried out the obligations it had assumed. During the March crisis, we visited with the family members of both Wei Jingsheng and Ren Wandong, and told the public what we had learned about their condition. We addressed the public and conducted opinion polls in July and August to appeal to the government to resolve problems of worldwide concern as soon as possible. Our recording of Wei's trial was a piece of firsthand information which helped us to let the public know what had transpired. We also wrote an article criticizing the court for imposing heavy penalties for minor offenses.

The second "joint conference" never outgrew the embryo stage. It had been proposed by SPRING IN BEIJING after the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration. What we did then was to produce a booklet on the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" based on what we knew, and circulated it to refute those malicious rumors. We were also invited to cover a press conference for both Chinese and foreign reporters to be held at the "People's University" to discuss the demonstration. Concerned about possible changes before the conference, before we went over we telephoned to the party committee and the student council of the "People's University" about the matter. Unable to get any clear-cut answer, we asked Chai Song of TODAY to go to the "People's University" to survey the situation. We asked him to call us if the conference was going to take place. When he got there and told the student council of the "People's University" that he was a representative of all unofficial publications to cover the conference, a loudspeaker blasted the news over the entire campus that he was welcome. When the conference was over, we were very sorry we had not got thereon time to cover the conference and offer our support. Xu Wenli wrote a letter on behalf of 5 APRIL FORUM to offer our apology to the student council of the People's University. Frankly, I had not been in favor of the demonstration. At first, I proposed "Xingxing Art

Exhibition" and the suppression of its normal cultural activities by the East City Public Security Office and post it on the Democracy Wall, and that we hold a large discussion meeting to appeal to society for help and to mobilize public opinion to censure the police authorities. But my moderate views and the more conservative views were outvoted by the radicals. I thought that demonstration had an important bearing on what happened afterward. Some of us were a bit overoptimistic about the situation at that time.

The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration took place on 1 October 1979. We learned later that some party and state leaders said when they talked about the demonstration: "Anyone with a bit of patriotism would not have had the demonstration on this particular day." That was illogical. What was patriotism? I thought all actions and opinions that supported the spirit of the constitution were patriotic. All actions and opinions, no matter whose, that damaged and contradicted the spirit of the constitution were unpatriotic and detrimental to the national interests. The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration aimed at supporting the constitution, and our march banners were: "We March in Support of the Constitution," "We Want Political Democracy," "We Want Freedom of Art." The crucial issue was to ask the government to protect the right of citizens to engage in social and cultural activities without brutal police interference. To uphold the basic spirit of the country on the national day was the best way to celebrate that festive occasion. How could anyone call it unpatriotic? We had to draw a line of demarcation between the craving to save face and true patriotism. Those who craved to save face only cared about the momentary glee of gratification, without considering the consequences, and about taking shelter under an umbrella of harmful actions. That was really harmful to the country. The only issue worth considering was the question of tactics, because the demonstration did not achieve much. It actually became a factor responsible for the changes which took place afterward.

3. Foreigners

I did not take the initiative to contact foreigners, not because I did not want to contact them but because of the reality in China. I acted voluntarily only once, to give issue No 3 of 5 APRIL FORUM to Wade of the British DAILY TELEGRAPH to thank him for a New Year's greeting card he had posted on the Democracy Wall on 1 January 1979 to extend his best wishes to the budding unofficial publications. We would always remember Wade as a friend.

Although I did not volunteer to contact foreigners, I always received warmly any foreigner who came to see me. This was not only a matter of courtesy but also a subjective necessity. The voice of ordinary Chinese people could hardly be heard by the leaders of the state. If someone worked hard enough to get his voice heard, it would not draw any attention. But the same piece of information would receive their maximum attention if it had been "gilded" abroad. Since we favored political reform in China, I thought this medium would help make our voice reach both the leadership and the masses. We also wanted to have the world understand us. The world had no place for any country to live in isolation and keep out all outside influence.

The interrogator tried by hook or crook to capitalize on the problem of foreigners. I told him candidly that I would answer all questions he cared to ask about foreigners. Realizing that the Public Security Bureau did not have much to gain by dwelling on the question of foreigners, he began to threaten me, but he did it so awkwardly that he only made me laugh.

Victoria, a United Press correspondent and her assistant, Liu Xiangcheng, had made arrangements for me to meet Bai li bo [phonetic], a famous correspondent. According to Liu Xiangcheng, he was a China expert and had accompanied former U.S. Vice President Mondale to visit China. I asked the representatives of SPRING IN BEIJING, TODAY, FERTILE SOIL, TANSUO and HUMAN RIGHTS LEAGUE to be with me at our meeting. Bai li bo arrived about 40 minutes late; he apologized to us for this and said it was because he had to attend Sihanouk's reception. He had an American sense of humor. He was 36 years old in 1979. We talked for more than 3 hours. Before leaving, he said he had applied for permission to stay in Beijing as a correspondent of TIME. He figured he would get the approval in 1980 and would return to Beijing in the spring. By that time, he said, we could talk like old friends. Liu Xiangcheng recorded the conversation. We also made a recording and jotted down the essential points.

The interrogator took this interview as an excuse to threaten me. He said every foreign correspondent in China had to have a correspondent's identity card issued by China. He was not entitled to interview anyone unless he possessed such an identity card. Bai li bo [phonetic], who did not have a correspondent's identity card, was not entitled to interview anybody. The interrogator said we violated the law by permitting him to interview us.

That was ridiculous. If it were against the law for a correspondent who did not have the ID to interview people, the interviewer, instead of us who were being interviewed, should have been held criminally liable. Furthermore, the ban on interviews and news gathering was applicable only to such activities as public gatherings and demonstrations. It could not possibly cover casual conversations of three-five people. Any foreigner, not necessarily newspaper reporters, who could write and wanted to profit by writing, would write about conversations with a Chinese or quote what he had said. This meant that any Chinese who talked with a foreigner would be held criminally liable for permitting unauthorized interviews. Should every Chinese ask every foreigner he met for his correspondent's identity card before talking to him, or else not talk to him at all? The simplest way would be to make it criminally punishable for the Chinese people to talk to any foreigner, or else copy what the "gang of four" had done.

But I did not think there was such a law. Maybe the interrogator wanted to enact such a law.

Mo la lei si [phonetic], a correspondent of AI FEI [phonetic] NEWS AGENCY, had visited me at home a few times. The interrogator told me that Mo la lei si had filed a report, "Hua Guofeng and A Young Man Hold Different Political Views." He said I was the young man mentioned in that article, which also quoted what I had said. That was an exaggeration of a specific point.

Mo la lei si had once asked me: What's your attitude toward Hua Guofeng? In reply, I had told him that Hua Guofeng should be given credit for crushing the "gang of four." He had become the leader of the country during the 10 turbulent years. Since I knew nothing about his past and had no way of knowing what had happened to him during those 10 turbulent years, I really did not know what to say. But I was sure of one thing. If we were to cast a vote of confidence for the leader of our country, we should consider very carefully whether or not to vote for Hua Guofeng. A vote of confidence, the highest honor, was not cast for the office; it was cast for a person we had known for a long time. This was probably what the interrogator had in mind when he told me that my statement had gone too far. I still believed the position of a person was not necessarily a decisive indicator of the public trust he enjoyed. I would not place my confidence in anyone unconditionally just because he happened to be the chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

4. Internal Information

There were always rumors floating around in Chinese society. The Chinese people, who were kept in the dark, often did not know as much about the conditions in China as foreigners. To compensate for such lack of communication, they had to depend on unofficial news. We used to receive this kind of unofficial news more than most people because people loved to pass it to us and also because we needed to receive it in order to assess the overall situation. Sometimes the unofficial news turned out to be unadulterated "internal information." For instance, I knew long ago that Wang Dongxing and Wu De would be forced to leave the Politburo and stripped of their state leadership positions; that the "Democracy Wall" would be banned in 1979; that the "four rights to speak out" would be abolished; and that the "gang of four" would be tried in open court. We also had received information as yet unconfirmed, such as the promulgation of a law on publications in 1980 to permit the unofficial publications to register.

The interrogator tried to induce me to reveal the source of my unofficial news. I knew it was a trap. If I revealed the source of a single item of news, I would be trapped on the horns of a dilemma. I would be accused of spreading rumors if I refused to reveal the sources of all the information I had. If I did reveal the sources, I would expose those who had supplied us with the information to harassment by the Public Security Bureau. That would be a breakthrough for the Public Security Bureau. So I decided to answer all the questions by saying that I did not know. Aided perhaps by "special agents" or audio surveillance, they were so sure of certain items of information that they just would not let me off the hook.

One of the cases was about Tang Ruoxin of the Research Office of the Youth Corps Central Committee. Tang Ruoxin had talked to me a few times, and the Public Security Bureau had accused him of revealing to me internal information of the Public Security Bureau.

To induce me to accept their version, the interrogator assured me that he did not mean to implicate me by asking these questions. They just wanted to

get at those who leaked the information. He said some cadres, even high-level cadres, always liked to pass information to us, and these were the people they were trying to deal with. He asked me to cooperate with him for the sake of the state. I believed that they were really trying to deal with those who had provided us with information, because the Public Security Bureau, which could not tolerate anyone who supported democracy, wanted to punish them whenever possible. My dealings with the Public Security Bureau reinforced my earlier view that the Public Security Bureau was a conservative force, not interested in reform but well adapted to the status quo. Having failed to get anything on Tang Ruoxin from me, I am sure they also approached Tang Ruoxin in the name of the party organization. In fact, the interrogator repeated to me what Tang Ruoxin had told me. He said Tang Ruoxin had confessed that he had revealed to me internal information of the Public Security Bureau and described how he did it.

Tang Xin, a BEIJING RIBAO reporter, was another they were concerned about. In 1979, after the Shanghai city authorities had published a six-article public security circular, BEIJING RIBAO also published a six-article circular voted by the Beijing Municipal People's Committee. I had knowledge of the circular and disclosed it to the 5 APRIL FORUM inner circle before it was published by BEIJING RIBAO. Suspecting that I had obtained the information from Tang Xin, the police asked me to confirm their suspicion. It was true that I had prior knowledge of the circular.

Since the Public Security Bureau was determined to track down all those who sympathized with the democratic movement, it was my duty to protect them from the Public Security Bureau. As a matter of fact, I did not have to keep their identity a secret, since more than 90 percent of the matters we talked about were legitimate and only a small fraction could be considered unlawful disclosure of classified information. I did it just because the Public Security Bureau always tried to make things hard for people. Very few people wanted to have anything do with it, and it had no need to know.

Captions of photo inserts:

- (1) p 53: Liu Qing addressing the public in front of the Democracy Wall.
- (2) p 55: Public security personnel arresting Ren Wanding (in circle) in front of the Democracy Wall, November 1979.
- (3) P 59: Liu Qing leading the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration; from left to right are Wang Keping, Xu Wenli, Lu Pu, Ma Desheng, a disabled wood engraver, and Yang Jing.
- (4) p 59: Xu Wenli, founder of "5 APRIL FORUM", and his daughter.

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[Text] At the beginning of 1979, a Hong Kong periodical called ZHENGMING published an article signed by Jiang Belyou which contained an account of the life story of Yu Luohe, a national hero. The interrogator, who believed

that the article was written for ZHENGMIN by Yu Luoqing, Yu Luo's sister, was anxious for me to confirm his suspicion. Yu Luoqing had written an article on the same subject which appeared in the September 1979 issue of 5 APRIL FORUM. The article carried by ZHENGMIN was written by another friend of mine. Although I knew it, I did not have to tell the Public Security Bureau. There was no law prohibiting a Chinese from publishing his writing overseas, and as long as he did not misrepresent facts or slander anyone, it was perfectly acceptable. Therefore, I had no obligation to work with the Public Security Bureau and satisfy it.

It was difficult to get an article published in China unless it suited the "taste" of the propaganda agencies. Except for official publications, there was no other medium in which to publish an article, no matter how pertinent, objective and truthfull. It was therefore plausible to get one's articles published overseas in order to make his voice heard throughout the world and let the whole world judge whether it was reasonable to muffle what he wanted to say. As for the writings on the heroic life of Yu Luo, they should have been published long ago.

Efforts To Seek Redress for Yu Luo Thwarted

The heroic deeds of Yu Luo were brought to the attention of the China Consultative Conference by one of its members, whose moving account made his audience sob. The outcry for redress for Yu Luo had won popular support long before. A profound and logical thinker, brave enough to face reality and challenge the world singlehanded, Yu Luo represented the best of our national integrity. During the time of the "red terror," when many people were carried away by the excitement of terror and blind enthusiasm, he alone rose above them to make his wise and feeble voice heard, and he sacrificed his life for it. The passage of history proved this martyr was correct, as he was sober enough to point out a world of absurdity to the intoxicated masses. He passed on long ago, and his "grave" remained deserted, with neither fresh flowers nor green grass, except for the crying migratory geese. If "nobleness, the epitaph of a "noble soul" were the only epitaph the world could offer to a noble soul, why did we hesitate to present it to him whose nobleness we knew, and it was actually possible to present that epitaph to him?

Could it be that we were afraid to have people grieve over the fresh blood already shed or afraid to expose the executioner and brand him the "common enemy" in the face of public wrath? Did people have to have pity on the cruel coward? It was necessary that the people act immediately to expose the assassin and punish the culprit in order to soothe the noble soul in heaven.

Thus, when the redress for Yu Luo was still slow in coming after a full year of pleading, an infuriated author sent to Hong Kong an article aimed at presenting Yu Luo's story to the people of the whole world. Wasn't that what all concerned and righteous people wanted? I just did not understand why the Public Security Bureau still wanted to track down the author.

He had formed his own views about the abuses he found during the period of socialism and their solution through extensive study of works on Marxism-Leninism. He included all these in a book entitled "On Proletarian Democratic Revolution." I remember I came across the term "the bureaucratic class", now widely quoted in newspapers, for the first time in his book. No matter whether his views were right or wrong, the motive of his effort to study social problems and their solution should not have been questioned, because that was a civic right of all citizens and not the monopoly of the leaders. Yet that was what put him behind prison bars. After his conditional release in 1979, he risked threats to his personal safety and went to Beijing to look for an opportunity to offer the work he had done all those years to society. At first, he approached the official press. After being "turned down" repeatedly, he decided to approach the unofficial publications. The editors of 5 APRIL FORUM who read his book were impressed by his brand new points of view, which they thought should be made available to those who might be interested. Even if they contained very little to benefit society, they were still worth publishing. I remember a philosopher named Po-ke once said: Work hard in your own field. If your work does not lead to something worthwhile or is simply waste of time, at least it succeeds in serving as a road sign: Dead End. That was the least Chen Erjin's book could do. In view of this and the fact that it might reactivate the minds of the Chinese people, 5 APRIL FORUM finally published Chen Erjin's book of more than 100,000 words. Realizing that Chen Erjin had worked hard during the progress of the publication and that the book had landed him in prison, 5 APRIL FORUM felt dutybound to find him a place to take a break and see how the public would respond to his writing. So we had moved him to a hideout in a village outside Beijing.

The interrogator knew this and seemed to sense the possibility of a conspiracy. So he kept asking about the case. As a matter of fact, the interrogator knew very well that Chen's book was moderate except where he attacked the bureaucrats and those who abused their authority for unlawful gains. Was what Chen Erjin did unlawful under the constitution? The interrogator's interest in the case was obviously intended to gauge the undercover activities of 5 APRIL FORUM in order to discredit it to his superiors and the general public.

Chen Sizhou of the Inner Mongolian Writers League had given me his article, "The Constitutional Movement of 1979," in which he proposed reorganization of the Chinese economy. I did not know how the Public Security Bureau got hold of it and quoted it out of context in order to misrepresent the true intentions of the author.

The interrogator also asked about the correspondents of 5 APRIL FORUM, including Wang Xizhe, one of a group of three of the "Li Yizhe" correspondents council in Guangzhou; Sun Feng of Qingdao; Liu Shixian of Tianjin; and other correspondents in other provinces and cities. I told him the same thing as I had regarding all previous questions. That is, our relationship was confined to ideological exploration, theoretical studies and publication of writings, none of which fell within the jurisdiction of the Public Security Bureau.

This covered all the questions the interrogator asked. My answers did not cover as much ground as my writing here. I answered some of his questions but declined to answer the others or refuted those allegations which I considered harmful to the interests of others. The boring details I have put down are meant to help the public understand the situation better.

I believe my description could clarify one particular point, no matter whether I acted properly or improperly. That is, I did not violate the criminal law or any other regulations. The interrogator, who began to see the point as he went on, seemed frustrated as he was not able to pin me down. So I had become a piece of "chicken bone" in the hands of the Public Security Bureau, "tasteless" but a shame to throw away. In the eyes of the public security people, they would say "it makes people angry to throw it away." Could you oppose the powerful Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau even if you knew it was treating you, a powerless citizen, unfairly and unlawfully? Even if you did, how far could you get? It would not let a "stubborn thing" like you get away until it made you as submissive as a piece of dough.

(DONGXIFANG Editor's Note: a page containing about 500 characters is missing here.)

The interrogator kept hammering away at his questions, even though he knew I was getting impatient with him. The funny part was that he tried to tell me how to examine what I had done. You must be patient, he said, and hear me out. You must understand and realize that when you make things difficult for us, it means you are dissatisfied with the Party Central Committee headed by Hua Guofeng, and resent its current policy and line. It also means you do not like the socialist system. Objectively, you are obstructing political stability and unity and the implementation of the "four modernizations." You must do some in-depth examination in this particular area. We hope you will be able to return to society soon and do something constructive to serve the people.

The Public Security Bureau Forced Me To Give In

This was the first time the Public Security Bureau had forced me to examine myself and help it achieve a breakthrough. I was asked to write a report on the issue that I had concealed my true age in seeking admission to college and had taken sick leave from my work unit on the basis of a sick leave slip I had filled out myself. These were two minor problems blown out of proportion by the Public Security Bureau. The reason they were willing to "lower their dignity" to go after these problems was because they thought these could lead to something much more significant, as they had indicated. They asked me to include in my reports on those two questions anything else that called for examination, such as my ideological errors and improper attitude toward ideology. I wrote on those two questions because they were "less than honorable," although I was obliged to report to the Public Security Bureau on those matters. As for their suggestion, I wrote that I did not have any ideological errors, and since the Public Security Bureau was not an educational organ, I did not want to talk to the police about the question of right and wrong. Although this was their major concern, I did not think the question of right and wrong was a legal issue within the jurisdiction

of the law enforcement organs. Having failed on two counts by indirect approach, they switched to frontal assault. I knew they wanted to get my "confession" of ideological errors to relieve their anxiety. By the same token, they asked about all my friends, hoping that I might by chance say something harmful to them and fall flat on my face.

As I said before, my principle of compromise was that I would make certain admissions, just enough to allow them to save face and enable me to return to society. Now the Public Security Bureau wanted me to capitulate instead of compromising. That was wishful thinking. I realized by now that my original assessment and the demands of the Public Security Bureau were miles apart and that my recognition of their authority to interrogate me, a concession I had made against my better judgment, was an exercise in futility.

The interrogator volunteered to explain to me the intentions of the Public Security Bureau. He said: "Liu Qing, you aren't just a single individual. Your influence reaches many people. Your activities affect many people of every social stratum. If you were just a single individual, we would not care about you and would have let you go home. Now, since you have influence over other people, you must admit your errors."

He made it very clear that the crucial point was the extent of one's influence and not a matter of legality. If you were very influential, they would never set you free until you were destroyed to the extent that you were no longer a threat to the Public Security Bureau. If your influence was minimal and would not be able to do much, they might let you go free. So, influence was a crime while their need was the law. I wondered when my fatherland would rid itself of this absurd phenomenon. It was an honor that the Public Security Bureau ranked me as an influential individual and wanted me to beg for mercy and admit my errors. But there was no force strong enough to make me do that. I would admit my errors only when I was proven wrong by logic or by the passage of history. Otherwise, nobody could force me to admit my errors, not even a political party, a group, any government authority or a respected leader. I had no stomach for those who used brutal force to control people's minds and bribery to corrupt their consciences. I would have loved to return to society. But I would rather have stayed in prison the rest of my life than to lose the basic qualities of a man and renounce my identity under duress.

Since my plan to compromise to let the Public Security Bureau back away without losing face had not worked, my only option then was to appeal to the judicial departments against the unlawful acts of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Although this might be meaningless or even an exercise in futility, it would at least raise questions about whether the Chinese law enforcement organs were governed by law or were subservient to force or simply political weather vanes, and show the people the need to work for democracy, the rule of law and government reform.

After I was incarcerated, I asked the guard to provide me with paper and pen because I wanted to exercise my lawful right to file charges against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. The guard refused my request on

all sorts of excuses. The interrogator also tried to evade the issue. So I decided to be more conciliatory and stopped talking about filing charges. Later, Liu Jingyu, the chief guard in Row 2, who thought I was unlawfully detained, gave me the paper and pen I requested. He told me the detention center had to report to its superior authority on the conditions in the center once every few days and could ask for a solution to or reprocessing of pending cases. On 21 January 1980, about 3 days after my interrogator had asked me to give in, I handed Liu Jingyu my letter addressed to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate to lodge my complaints against the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Liu told me afterward that my letter plus their comments had been forwarded to the superior organ. I waited patiently for more than 2 months, but nothing happened. I could no longer get to see the whitehaired interrogator who had previously interrogated me practically every day. He seemed to have disappeared after he interrogated me for the last time on 18 January.

Feigned Forgetfulness Caused More Mental Pressure

Some 2 months later, when I tried to contact Liu Jingyu, he avoided me. Even when I ran into him while lined up for food, he refused to talk to me and pretended to have forgotten what he had promised. I was so frustrated that I finally shouted aloud to get him to talk to me. The first thing he told me was that the letter had been forwarded to the higher authority but no reply had been received, even though one had been requested several times. He knew I was terribly worried and had been trying to get in touch with him to clarify the matter. He said he had tried to avoid me because he knew so little that he did not have any news for me. I calmed down after listening to his explanation, but I asked him to provide me with about 60 sheets of paper. Instead of appealing again to the Beijing Municipal Procuratorate, which I no longer trusted, I decided to write to the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate of the People's Republic of China. Each letter was over 20 pages long and contained more details than the one I had written previously. By the time I finished the letters, I was moved to a large cell in Row 7. On 5 April I handed the letter to old Yuan, a friendly guard for both Row 6 and Row 7. That was 10 months ago and I have not had any response as yet.

As I said before, the reason the public security agencies could act in violation of the law without restraint was that those under their jurisdiction, no matter how unfairly they were treated, had no way to contact the public and make their miserable conditions known to the outside world so as to enlist public concern and sanction against unlawful persecution by the law enforcement agencies. Consequently, there was no way to make a law enforcement agency retract any unlawful act it had already committed. The victim had to learn to put up with his bad luck and stop badgering the unreasonable police with the question of "justice." If he appealed to a higher authority, the police would still be exonerated from malfeasance if they could lay their hands on any mistake the victim had made recently or in the past, no matter how irrelevant. If the injustice was flagrant and the victim was absolutely innocent, the police could still get away by submitting a written report on the case. Since there was no way to stop the law enforcement personnel during the progress of a persecution or to punish them when it was over, they

could very well take the law into their own hands to give vent to their personal spite.

As a matter of fact, before I wrote the letter, I realized from what I knew about the way things were being done in China that the letter would be useless and might lead to ruthless persecution as it could offend the Public Security Bureau. Nevertheless I decided to write it, after careful consideration, because I wanted to reveal the persecution and denial of legal protection I personally had experienced as a reminder of how little supervision the people had over the law enforcement agencies. I also wanted to point out that enforcement of the law should be under strict control, and I appealed to the "social court of justice" because the courts of the state could not protect my rights as a citizen. As we pursued democracy and the rule of law, it was the duty of every citizen to know that if the law enforcement agencies were permitted to deny at will the lawful rights of a particular citizen, they could deny at will the rights of all citizens. Any respectable citizen could be imprisoned without the protection of the law.

Some people might blame me for having written only once to the law enforcement agencies and not continuing to write, in the hope of reaching the "enlightened leader," and for resorting to intemperate approaches unbecoming to a gentle and honest Chinese citizen. Frankly, I did not want to write to the law enforcement agencies at all because I knew only too well how they "pass the buck" and "push their paper." I knew many innocent victims of injustice who ended up in reception centers or prison after years or even decades of agony and arduous travel to get to the capital to seek redress. As for me, even if I did not violate any law, they regarded me as a rebel "who deserved to be tortured to death," and I should feel unlucky that they had not done it as yet.

Furthermore, I never liked to appeal to authority and beg for mercy. I was a victim of injustice, and that was already unfair. How could anybody expect me to crawl on my knees to look for redress? The injustice suffered by many people was irrefutable in the eyes of the law. Why should they appeal for grace? Should they save face for the perpetrators of injustice and let them remain comfortably in a position of power? Should a victim of injustice suffer hunger, cold, a broken home and ruin to find out that it did not pay to oppose the officials? That being the case, whose rights was this regime protecting? As the persecuted, we had to protect our lawful rights.

If the courts did not punish those who ought to be punished or protect those entitled to be protected, we had to appeal to society against the persecutors and their superior authority, and enlist social pressure to punish and restrain them. We did not have to be gentle and honest to save face for the persecutors. We needed firmness and frontal attack, not pity and kindness. The courts of the state were powerless to cope with bureaucrats and autocrats. We had to learn to make full use of the "social court of justice" to make the courts of the state discharge their duty in accordance with the law.

Abolition of the "Four Ways To Speak Out" Was a Denial of Free Speech

Viewing "society as a court of justice," I resented "the abolition of the "four ways to speak out," especially the ban on the large character posters. The reasons given for "abolishing the four ways to speak out" were to eliminate slanderous, abusive and irresponsible opinions and to uproot the causes of disorder and instability. It was alleged that "the four ways to speak out" did more harm than good. It was the Chinese law enforcement agencies, and not the "four ways to speak out," that should have been held responsible for these matters. The tool which John Doe used to serve society could be used by Richard Roe to harm and kill people. It was a mistake to blame the tool. The most effective way to stop anyone from "harming and killing" others was to punish people like Richard Roe and warn people not to copy him. It was pointless to destroy the tool.

If the law and the law enforcement agencies of a society were ineffective in coping with people like Richard Roe, the crucial thing was to improve the law and strengthen the enforcement system, not to destroy the tool. If false accusations, slander and abusive opinions were punishable, then they should be punished no matter how they were expressed, whether in spoken words, letters or large character posters.

Since anyone who used large character posters to falsely accuse others could be punished, why should we give up eating for fear of choking? If word of mouth and letter writing could be liable for false accusations and slander, were we going to seal people's mouths and ban letter writing?

As I said before, the courts of the state in China were powerless to cope with bureaucratic actions; there should have been established vehicles to preserve the "social court of justice." In general, the more democratic a country, the better its "social court of justice." In a democratic country, the people enjoyed all the facilities and rights. In a nondemocratic country, the bureaucrats enjoyed all the facilities and rights. The "social courts of justice" in the Western world were more advanced because they were sustained by powerful publicity media, free speech and the publication of all shades of opinion. In his "Bits and Pieces of America," Xiao Qian said that Americans were quite free. They could say what they wanted to say and do what they wanted to do, as long as they were within the limits of law. Under the watchful eyes of the people, all officials had to act very cautiously to preserve their good image and avoid bureaucratic practices. This showed the effectiveness of a "social court of justice" in eliminating bureaucratic abuses. The newspapers in China were run by one owner and published only one school of opinion, and they tolerated only mildly different points of view. Thus, the people were denied the opportunity to take their wishes, aspirations and grievances to the "social court of justice." After many years of effort, the people had cracked open a bit of the wall surrounding a captive "social court of justice." This crack embodied the large character posters and unofficial publications. The abolition of the "four ways to speak out" would push the unofficial publications to the brink of extinction. Once the "crack" was gone, what way was left for the people to exercise their lawful rights? How were we going to take our grievances and dissenting views to the "social court of justice" to let the people pass judgment? Did this mean that the

the people could only place their hopes on charity and fantasize about the future" Did they have to wait for years and decades until they ran into an enlightened leader or until the day when a popular drive for redress emerged over the dead body of erroneous policies? How were we going to eliminate bureaucratic abuses? Were we going to let those who perpetuated bureaucratic abuses go ahead and do it or simply give a warning, as the saying goes, by killing a chicken to scare away a monkey?

Were we going to rely on persuasion by repetitive rhetoric? How could we be sure that the drive to uproot bureaucracy was genuine, as the means to do so were being destroyed, even though we said lipservice to the elimination of bureaucracy? By democracy, we meant that the people had access to vehicles of free expression. How could anybody call it democracy where the people did not have any means to express their opinions other than the official publications and propaganda organs? Personally, I would call it "control over people." In a word, to abolish instead of improving the "four ways to speak out" was tantamount to depriving the people of the only medium by which they could make their wishes known. This would favor bureaucracy. From then on, a persecuted person could only crawl on his knees to beg for leniency to save his skin, because he no longer enjoyed any right to resist or bring charges against his persecutor. It would be splendid if he could run into an enlightened leader. If not, his option would be either to put up with the humiliation or kill himself. He could hand himself behind the courthouse to register his protest.

In a democratic society, every citizen enjoyed the right to criticize and bring charges against persecution by cadres. A democratic system should provide the persecuted with an opportunity and a vehicle to appeal to society for help if he failed to receive fair treatment either in the courts of the state or other agencies and could not successfully appeal to a higher authority. Was this possible in our society of this time? No official publication would publish what you wrote (I believe only 5 out of every 1,000 letters written to these publications ever got published). Your voice would be muffled in a vacuum.

Consequently, I was not in favor of abolishing the "four ways to speak out," because that would be like the saying about giving up eating for fear of choking. A more logical approach would be to study the drawbacks of the "four ways to speak out" and enact laws to prevent abuses. It would be futile for one to fight against the unlawful actions of the Public Security Bureau when he was caught in its web of control. I realized that I was bound to fail as I had no way to obtain protection by law, because I was a single individual confronted with an "omnipotent" dictatorial agency without the protection of law and could not appeal to society to enlist support and sympathy. They had the power to do anything to me, and they were ready to order me about. But I still wanted to put up a good fight because I would much rather fight until I lost than to wait for failure to befall me. I had to avail myself of every opportunity to expose how the Public Security Bureau had trampled on the constitution and to tear down its protective cover under the guise of law.

Not Knowing Well Enough the Meanness of the Public Security Bureau

On the third day after I became angry with policeman Liu, I was moved from a maximum security prison row, Row 2, to a large cell full of convicts. This was a serious change, a sign of grave consequences. When I was in Row 12, even my sympathetic guard was unable to get permission to find me a cellmate, and yet later I was moved into a cell with tens of other convicts. The situation must have changed. If they could not subdue me by leniency coupled with firmness, they might do something drastic to me. I talked with Kuai Dafu's (Editor's Note: ringleader of the rebels at Qinghua University) friend. He thought they might pronounce me formally arrested. That was what I had been looking for, because that would give me an opportunity to defend myself in court on the strength of specific legal provisions and end the situation of having to deal with the Public Security Bureau, which might still want to apply pressure to force me to give in. If so, they must have figured that I was simple and easy to handle. No matter what happened, I had made up my mind to keep asking the detention authorities to report to their superiors on the question of my unlawful detention and act in accordance with legal procedures, and to tell my fellow inmates about my condition so as to let more people know about the unlawful actions of the Public Security Bureau. In fact, my story actually won a considerable amount of sympathy. Some fellow inmates were indignant, while others even confronted the detention authorities with my case. Embarrassed and dumfounded, the guards either pretended that they knew nothing about the case or that they believed that exceptions were always possible.

I was so inexperienced that I did not realize how mean the Public Security Bureau was and I had no idea that it might look for loopholes instead of lawful grounds to teach me a punishing lesson. But my cellmates—including Yue Zhenping of the Shilou Production Brigade, Shilou Commune, Fangshanxian; Jia Mao, who was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment on trumped-up charges and was still serving time due to complications in his appeal for redress; Li Anjiang, who was serving a 6-year sentence for speculative profiteering and fraudulent acquisition of supplies; Hong Tao, whom I mentioned above; and Yu Haibin, son of a cadre—who knew the Public Security Bureau very well, had thought about the possibility and warned me what to expect. Yue Zhenping's mimic account was the most vivid: "You say you didn't make any mistake; fine. You say you didn't violate the law; fine. We are not going to convict you. What we want is to send you away for reeducation through labor. We can send anyone away for reeducation through labor if we believe he needs it. That is for your own good. Although you have not violated the law, you may still do something wrong or break the law. You are a dangerous potential wrongdoer and lawbreaker. We will send you away for reeducation through labor to stop you from making more serious mistakes." Making a mock angry gesture, he concluded his presentation in a rather comic tone: "My friend, for the sake of your health and safety, I'll devour you. You can rest assured you'll be safe and sound in my digestive tract."

They were right. I will discuss this a bit later. I was very grateful to my fellow sufferers. Crowded in one cell, we became close friends, even though some had broken the law and some had not. Their advice was timely

enough for me to understand that the Public Security Bureau could be both autocratic and "mean" and that I should be prepared to face their despicable actions calmly.

I also should thank my fellow sufferers for the support they gave me in my daily life. After all, the way I led my daily life was not flawless. I often could not see what I ought to do and how to look tidy. I was not even aware of the need to wash my dirty quilt and clothes. I often spent my time reading newspapers and remained sitting idly, and sometimes I argued with people. My cellmates cleaned up for me several times. I was touched watching them washing my clothes and sewing my wornout socks. They even bathed me and scrubbed my back several times. The cleanliness was refreshing and made me feel more comfortable and alert.

I appreciated especially the support they gave me when I clashed with the guards for refusing to comply with their humiliating rules. One day when the inmates were let out for exercise, the guards suddenly ordered all the inmates in some rows to put both hands on the lower half of the bellies, while those in the other rows were told to walk slowly with their heads down. I told the guards I would not do that for two reasons. First, I was not a convict but had been detained unlawfully by the Public Security Bureau, and the rules of the detention center were not applicable to me. Second, it was against the law to impose humiliating rules on convicts. All my fellow sufferers joined me in resisting the order, but the guards forced them to give in. They were very angry when the guards tortured me for resisting their order. Some even questioned the right of the guards to punish a person unlawfully detained without due process of law. Yue Zhengping was so indignant that he asked for paper and pen to prepare charges against the Public Security Bureau for unlawful detention and brutality. Afraid to let me return to No 9, Row 6, the guards locked me once more in a small cell. Every time my fellow sufferers passed by (to go to the toilet), they would knock on my cell door to express their concern. My fellow sufferers in No 9 gave me a nickname--chicken--because, due to nearsightedness, I had once said the two fat babies on Yue Zhengping's book cover looked like chickens at a distance. So when they passed by my cell, they often called me "chicken" just to tease me. What a coincidence; my friends working for TODAY also nicknamed me "chicken" because I loved to argue with them. They said I resembled a fighting "cock."

My fellow sufferers were friendly to me probably because they were fond of people who took part in the "democratic movement." All of them, no matter whether they had pleaded guilty or innocent, favored emancipation of the mind, social democracy and a strict rule of law. But many of them, who had considerable knowledge of social problems, would become confused, stubborn and unreasonable whenever their personal problems were touched upon. This was understandable because people were prone to forgive themselves. But if they did not forgive themselves, who would?

Yang Guang Was Despised by the Inmates

But their impression of some of the participants in the "democratic movement" was not at all favorable. Yu Yi of the "Human Rights League" had not impressed

them favorably. When Yu Yi began serving time, he talked all the time about democracy and human rights, and refused to talk about anything else or set his eyes upon anything evil. Cell life was dull and boring, and the inmates had to figure out all sorts of ways to kill time, including lewdness and obscenity. After all, they were human beings. Yu Yi used to scream at them as if he were superhuman and absolutely uninterested in women. Before long his topics of conversation suddenly switched to sex and speculative profiteering. This made them think he was a hypocrite.

Yu Yi was set free in November 1979, and I had run into him on 11 November when I was selling my publications. He was a native of the Northeast and had come to Beijing to seek redress concerning his personal problems. Following his release, he entered a reception center where he had a single room to himself with a sofa and a spring bed. With a daily living allowance, he lived like a "retired bureaucrat" pending the solution of his problems. The comfort accorded him was way above those who slept on sidewalks and begged at restaurants. Maybe his "performance" in the Public Security Bureau had been acceptable, or at least he had admitted his mistakes. If he had not, it would have been impossible for him to enjoy such "special privileges." This proved what the ancients used to say: "If you want to succeed in politics, commit murder and arson and then accept amnesty." It seemed he had done just that to gain some leverage, and had given in at the most favorable hour.

Yang Guang fared the worst with the inmates, who called him a traitor. As far as I knew, he was a radical among those taking part in the democratic movement, much more radical than Wei Jingsheng. Let me illustrate my point. Wei Jingsheng and I had argued heatedly about Marxism-Leninism and socialism. My position was that when a theory was not successfully carried out, that did not mean the theory per se was bad. I considered that we had to study whether the theory and its application were incomplete accord before we rejected the theory. Wei Jingsheng argued that a theory which had failed in practice was bad, and that China must switch to another theory to bring about real improvements.

Our argument lasted till 0300 the following morning, and we had to break it up without reaching any agreement. One day Yang Guang and Zhao Nan got involved in a heated argument at a session of the "joint conference." Zhao Nan was one of the sponsors, founders and responsible leaders of 5 APRIL FORUM, PEOPLE'S FORUM, and the "Friendship Association of Chinese and American People." He made his home available to TODAY for its editorial works. He was progressive, with an emancipated mind and a cautious style. During the March 1979 crisis, he wrote for the Democracy Wall a poem, "Dedicated to You," which made many of his readers sob. Jiang He, a gifted poet, called him "a poet who had matured overnight." Instead of reasoning, Yang Guang tried "to pin down" Zhao Nan reproachfully by labelling him a defense attorney of the government, a position which Yang Guang considered the embodiment of all evil and should be opposed.

There was another case. After the arrest of Wei Jingsheng, Yang Guang wrote "An Appeal to the Chinese People" for the editorial department of TANSUO,

which he distributed in China and mailed to various foreign embassies in Beijing. He wrote in this appeal: "We call upon the people to take up arms to battle the Central Committee until final victory is achieved." This was much more violent than any of the articles Wei Jingsheng had ever published. He was a conspicuously radical speaker at the "protest meeting" on 28 January 1979, and was rated by the radicals as a speaker "with a clear-cut stand." Yet he stated on the witness stand that his thinking had been influenced and prodded by Wei Jingsheng. That was not true. I had known Yang Guang long before I knew Wei Jingsheng. He had always been a radical, impulsive and emotionally excitable. To him, anyone who had accused Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of being unfit to lead the Chinese people was a true revolutionary. I once attended a meeting of the sponsors of "25 November" which he had lined up. He was so disappointed with my "extreme" conservative position that he left before the meeting was over, forgetting that he was a sponsor. If Wei Jingsheng had any influence on him at all, I believe it worked to calm down his irrational behavior and violent "passion," and made him aware of reality and logic. Due to his performance in court, Yang Guang was reinstated several months after he had been expelled from the Beijing Industrial University.

If Yang Guang had changed his attitude for ideological reasons, nobody should have held it against him, because people underwent changes all the time. As far as I knew, that was hardly the case. I believed he spoke against his conscience out of his desire for immediate gain when his own interests conflicted with those of others. The Public Security Bureau could not have influenced him by its reeducation. This conclusion was based on my experience.

I Ran into Wei Jingsheng in Prison

When they brought me to the small cell, I was full of bruises, handcuffed and wearing a gas mask which made breathing extremely difficult. There were two other inmates in the cell. One was Luo Xinguo, a pickpocket who had drifted from Shaanxi to Beijing. The other was Wei Rongling, who, according to his own story, was once an assistant section chief of the PLA General Political Department and had served as a guard to Zhang Chunqiao and Jiang Qin. Wei Rongling used to be my cellmate in No 9, Row 6. He said he had done a year's hard labor on death row (Row 23), and he told me stories about the death row inmates. When he found out I was Liu Qing, he told me a few things about Wei Jingsheng as well as about Fu Yuehua. He said Wei Jingsheng, who was locked in death row instead of a prison after he was sentenced, had left some writing with him for delivery to Lu Lin or myself when he was released. But the guard took it away and gave him a hard time over the writing. At first I did not believe what he said, because by the time he told me the story Wei Jingsheng had been sentenced by the Higher Court for nearly 8 months and should have been committed to a reform through labor unit to serve his time. How could he still have been in the detention center? But Wei Rongling was right. The proletarian dictatorship was indeed unpredictable.

On 1 July 1980 when I was on my way from the exercise ground back to my cell, I ran into Wei Jingsheng, ashen and thin. He looked puzzled and tormented when he saw me. Escorted by two interrogators, he walked by me in silence.

I also met Zhang Wenhe, the most radical member of the "Human Rights League." Still irrepressible in prison, he always protested and argued with the guards, who really gave him a hard time. With his hands handcuffed behind him for months, he found it very hard to take his food, to go to the toilet, to sleep or to change clothes. He had to wear a helmet and a gas mask and he was beaten repeatedly. He was locked in No 1, just across the hall from No 9. I always lined up immediately ahead of him during exercise time. We sometimes managed to slow down an exchange a few words or shake hands. The Lianhua Temple was a prison for reform through labor. It had been designed to house convicts serving long prison terms. At that time it took in practically anybody. According to the guards, there were five different categories of inmates: those committed to reform through labor, those serving time, those committed to reeducation through labor, those committed to hard labor, and those convicted of job offenses. The prison was inside a 5-meter-high gray surrounding wall topped with meshed live wire. There was a watchtower at each corner guarded by armed soldiers pacing back and forth. One had to pass through four gates, one after another, to get into the building. These gates served as checkpoints and markers of the checkerboard-like cubicles which housed the four categories of inmates other than job offenders. The work the inmates did, including hauling heavy stones, was very taxing. The criminal convicts were assigned so-called technical work--actually lighter and easier jobs. Heavy manual jobs were handled by those committed to hard labor or reeducation through labor. The criminal convicts, trusted by the guards, formed the core of a detachment of inmates. In addition to their unquestioning obedience and seniority in prison residence, this trust in the criminal convicts rested mainly on questionable relations between the guards and the convicts, including joint smuggling ventures and other underhand dealings.

I noticed a number of irregularities at the camp for reeducation through labor. First, there were people who had been committed to reeducation through labor not necessarily for any infraction of the law or public order, but for having courted the displeasure of a higher level leadership or the Public Security Bureau. For instance, Shi Jinsheng, an apprentice at the Hongan Company, Shaanxi, once got into an auditorium without an admission ticket to watch a performance put on by the company. It was a minor matter which occurred quite often. Moreover, the company usually let people watch the performance free after it had been on for half an hour. But Shi Jinsheng was taken to the guard's office, where they beat him so hard that he had to hit back. He was thereupon taken immediately to the Public Security Bureau for detention and then sent back to the factory to face a struggle. His tutor, Yu Zhenghai, infuriated by the injustice, blamed the chief of the workshop and the factory security section for what had happened. As a result, both were committed to reeducation through labor for 2 years. If Shi Jinsheng had disturbed public order, he might have been placed in custody for reeducation or given a "2-year sentence." But the punishment meted out to his tutor was so outrageous that even the guard at the Second Detachment for Reeducation Through Labor said it was unfair. It was essential that any law or system rise above the influence of power play and the wishes of an individual or group and be enforced strictly. How could it remain intact

when it was enforced halfheartedly and inattentively and by killing a few innocent "chickens" in an emergency in order to scare the naughty monkeys."

Second, certain felonious lawbreakers who deserved severe punishment often got their sentences reduced to reform through labor. Then they lobbied through a network of "relations" to get themselves released for medical treatment and serve their time of reeducation through labor at home, which might also be reduced. Take another example. There was a gang which had broken into people's houses to steal, and had stolen over 1,000 jin of copper ingots from a factory. Yet they were committed to only 2 years of reeducation through labor, and they lobbied successfully to get released sooner.

Third, a person charged with lawbreaking or serious wrongdoing who had been acquitted after administrative detention and "prolonged investigation" might be recommitted to reeducation through labor to help make up an assigned quota of commitments.

Zhou Donglin, charged with theft, was acquitted after detention and investigation. Repenting what he had done, he decided to redeem himself by following the good example of Lei Feng. A year later, he was arrested for no specific reason and recommitted to reeducation through labor. When he asked the reason for his arrest, he was told it was that old case of theft for which he had been detained for a year. They also told him they "could go back to old charges if there were no new charges." I think this implied a "revolving door" which would keep turning.

Fourth, when a felonious lawbreaker or wrongdoer could not be turned over to the court for lack of solid evidence or confession, the Public Security Bureau might still commit him to reeducation through labor on the strength of a suspicion or circumstantial evidence, and very few had raised their voices against the injustice. But this was not a plausible way to handle "criminal suspects." In the first place, it revealed the incompetence of the public security agencies, which had to rely on arbitrary decisions of their own for lack of solid evidence. Second, it encouraged the Public Security Bureau to resort to easygoing, arbitrary and simplistic bureaucratic practices. Third, it made those convicted resentful and vindictive for being convicted without legal justification—a potential threat to social order. Current social disorders and many serious criminal offenses were perpetrated by those who had been through reform through labor. This was the net result of unreasonable and unlawful reform through labor and the brutality of the Public Security Bureau. Nearly 90 percent of those reeducated through labor whom I knew were ready to go on an action spree to recoup their "losses."

As for me, since the Public Security Bureau had no legal ground to hold me as it wanted, it could only dump me into the legal loopholes. Even though this was less gratifying than to punish me lawfully, it still served the purpose of demonstrating to the people the omnipotence of the Public Security Bureau. But the bureau did not take too much for granted. The Public Security Bureau must have figured out that it could put the matter to rest by punishing me behind closed doors. I thought that was only the beginning. I would not call off my struggle until my four questions were answered, my pamphlets were returned to me, and the new criminal acts of the Public Security Bureau were rectified.

My Appeal to the Social Court of Justice

Of course, I could fail even more disastrously. They might ignore me completely, or worse still, kill me. In a word, prospects for a redress of the injustice looked pretty grim. Nevertheless, I would not give up looking up to the "social court of justice." I believed that no matter how badly I fared in the court of the state, justice was still on my side in the "social court of justice." This was enough to sustain my life-and-death struggle. Furthermore, I was sure my struggle was not just an exercise in futility; it would reinforce the edifice of the "social court of justice."

Now, let me say something about the "bizarre actions" of the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau. Reform through labor, as specified by the regulations, was a maximum administrative penalty meted out by an administrative authority to a party liable to receive reform through labor. That is to say, the power to mete out such a maximum administrative penalty rested with the committee on reeducation through labor of the locality where the punished party maintained his residence and job relations. As far as I knew, this was true throughout the country. For instance, those receiving reform through labor at the Chadian Reeducation Through Labor Camp of Beijing were convicted administratively by the Beijing Municipal Committee on Reeducation Through Labor. Those receiving reeducation through labor at the Lianhua Temple were convicted by the Shaanxi provincial authority. I was the only exception. The Beijing administrative authorities which handled my case had no relation to me, and the administrative district which meted out my administrative penalty had no jurisdiction over me. The administrative penalty meted out by Beijing had to be carried out in a Beijing administrative enclave in Shaanxi. I learned they had put in an additional provision authorizing a local reception center to commit to the local reeducation through labor camp any unemployed and homeless individual who had drifted into the locality. This being the case, I should have been taken to Chadian instead of to the reform through labor unit in Shaanxi inside a high surrounding wall secured by electronic wire, machine guns and police dogs. This was contrary to the established practice. But the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau was so powerful that it could do anything it wanted.

An individual committed to receive reeducation through labor was entitled, according to regulations, to receive a written notice covering the charges so as prevent him from being victimized by trumped-up charges. They did not give me the required notice. When I asked for it, they told me it was not needed in my case. They did not even provide the Lianhua Temple law enforcement unit with a formal notice of the decision of reeducation through labor. What they produced at first was only a handwritten notice, which was later replaced by a formal notice upon the request of the Lianhua Temple authority. Since they were all part and parcel of the Public Security Bureau, a formal notice of reeducation through labor could be overlooked.

Unlike others, I cannot repeat word by word the charges against me because I never received a formal written decree.

But my memory is still good and I can still recall what they had against me. The charges were as follows:

1. That I had mimeographed and offered for sale transcripts of recordings of the trial of Wei Jingsheng by the Beijing Municipal Higher Court. As Wei Jingsheng had been adjudged an active counterrevolutionary by the court after two consecutive trials, the mimeographed pamphlets were tantamount to publicizing opposition to the court decision, spreading propaganda for Wei Jingsheng, a counterrevolutionary, abstracting the work of the court, damaging the credibility of the law enforcement agencies, creating factors of instability, and undermining the pour modernizations. That the evidence obtained in investigations during detention proved that: 1) I had organized and taken part in the "Xingxing Art Exhibition"⁽¹⁾ demonstration on 1 November 1979, and delivered speeches attacking the work of the law enforcement agencies; and 2) I had handed adulterated sick leave slips to my work unit. Since these charges fell within the purview of the "Regulations Governing Penalties in the Administration of Social Order," I was sentenced to 3 years of re-education through labor, 12 November 1979 to 11 November 1981.

Both charges in the reeducation through labor decision (2) were fabricated by the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau, not founded on any law, regulation or government decree. It was a typical case of incrimination based on "personal opinions instead of law" and "trumped-up charges." It was a case of flagrant political persecution in violation of the spirit of the constitution and was unauthorized by any written provisions of the law. The reasons it gave were outrageous enough to make anyone with legal common sense and the government attorneys blush. Be that as it may, I still had to refute them so as to enable all eyewitnesses to see clearly what had taken place.

Wei Jingsheng was arrested on 29 March 1979, but he was not tried until 16 October of the same year, more than half a year after his arrest. Judging by the trial proceedings, the facts of Wei Jingsheng's case were by no means complicated. There were only two charges, which the public security and law enforcement authorities had known for a long time.

Why did they wait for more than half a year before bringing such a clear-cut case to trial? Everybody knew that the cases involving Wei Jingsheng and others had become the focus of worldwide attention, a matter of concern to both foreigners and Chinese, especially the Chinese. Their arrest was a dark cloud hanging over the heads of the Chinese people. Many people, disturbed and worried, began to warn each other; "Be careful what you say; a clampdown is about to take place again." The government law enforcement agencies, which were aware of the situation, simply would not get the court to try such clear-cut cases to remove the suspicions of the Chinese people and put to rest one concern of our foreign friends about China. Those who participated very actively in the "democratic movement" were so concerned that they met repeatedly to appeal openly for an early trial of the case. Nothing seemed to work. Perhaps these little people did not deserve a break. However, the trial suddenly began after Hua Guofeng was asked by French television news reporters about the French concern over the fate of "the arrested young dissidents." Could this convince the public that the court had been performing its independent judicial functions? Would people believe that the court had been acting strictly in accordance with the law and was not just trying to be in tune with the political climate of the day? Would people

believe that the court which had meted out such heavy punishment to Wei Jingsheng out of context of certain weighty evidence had acted in accordance with the rule of law and not political expediency?

More than 60 years ago, Cai Yuanpei, a bourgeois democratic revolutionary leader, said: "Any independent school of opinion which is logical and well founded" should be accorded the right of free speech and publication, and he applied this to the periodicals he himself edited. Could anybody imagine that at this time the proletariat, which was many times superior to the bourgeois democrats, would not make room for any dissenting opinion and would even punish opinions and speeches it did not trust? The people of the West could attack their country, government and president without fear, even though their views were "unrealistic." How could a system based on realistic principles refuse to tolerate attacks or even logical dissent? Shouldn't Marxism-Leninism and socialism demonstrate more courage and daring than capitalism in tolerating opposition? How could the false capitalist freedom of speech allow people to attack capitalism verbally or in writing, while socialism which provided people with true freedom of speech would not tolerate unpleasant speeches and writings? In other words, were we expected only to praise socialism? It seemed we were allowed only to put an equal sign between true and false.

A True Account of the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" Demonstration

The "reeducation through labor" decision also accused me of participating in the "Xingxing Art Exhibition" demonstration, which took place on a rainy morning on 1 October 1979. The marchers in formation carried banners: "We Support the Spirit of the Constitution," "We Want Political Democracy," and "We Want Freedom of Art." Ma Desheng, a young artist with paralyzed legs who led the marchine column, walked on crutches to cover a distance of 10 li from the Xidan subway to the municipal party committee office. They were determined to demonstrate to the world that they wanted to translate the democracy provided in the constitution into reality.

The demonstration was not the casual venture of a mob. It was an organized move to petition the authorities concerning specific political and economic issues, a mammoth propaganda drive to enlist popular support. Such a gigantic and complicated drive undoubtedly had to have a leader. Since the constitution gave citizens the right to demonstrate, it naturally expected all demonstrations to be well organized and orderly, and permitted the marchers to select their own organizers and leaders. As a matter of logic, the leaders and organizers of the demonstration did not violate the law.

Yet, surprisingly, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had the courage to sentence me to 3 years of reeducation through labor for taking part in and organizing the demonstration.

The Reason I Used False Sick Leave Slips

Finally the reeducation through labor decree accused me of using false sick leave slips. I confessed to the Public Security Bureau that it was my mistake, and I prepared a written report on it as they requested.

When I was studying at the Nanjing Industrial College, I was plagued by a number of ailments. After my graduation, when I was assigned to No 011 Base in Guizhou, I had to stay in the hospital all the time for medical treatment. Realizing that I could not stand the cold climate, the hospital brought my case to the attention of the ministry, which agreed to transfer me to No 012 Base in central Shaanxi. After I got to No 012 Base, I was still sick and had to stay in a hospital.

The 012 Base thereupon asked the ministry for permission to transfer me back to Beijing, where my family could look after me and save the unit lots of trouble. I could start working whenever I was able. But no response came back. At this point I asked for permission to visit my parents. The base leadership asked me to do two things while I was in Beijing. First, I should approach the ministry for transfer to Beijing, and also I should look for a unit that would accept my transfer. Second, since Beijing had excellent medical facilities, I should have my ailments cured. I could stay in Beijing for good if I could get a sick leave slip, and the base would send me my pay and grain coupons every month.

I found out upon returning to Beijing that no hospital would provide a sick leave slip to an employee of any unit which had no contractual relations with the hospital. I explained my problem to the doctors and asked them to help me. A kind doctor did give me a couple of temporary sick leave slips, while those who stuck to principles simply refused to accommodate me. But I had already contacted a few units which hopefully might accept my transfer. The hope would not come true unless I could run about getting more people to put in a good word for me, and I had to do this myself. So I had no other options. A few friends who were working in hospitals got me some blank sick leave slips at my request. I filled them out and forwarded them to my base. When the police questioned me about the matter, I said I had stolen them from the hospitals, because I did not want to implicate my friends. During my incarceration, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau made it a point to capitalize on my mistakes and tried to put me through a "third degree" interrogation. It was immensely interested in this matter because it wanted to use the material to tell the public and foreigners what kind of man I was.

At any rate, I admitted that I had made a mistake and disrupted the attendance records by asking others to get sick leave slips for me. But I was not trying to take advantage of sick leave, because I was actually sick. My medical history kept in my school and the records of the Guizhou No 011 Base hospital, the Hanzhong No 012 Base hospital and the hospital in Beijing which had treated my illness could attest to my chronic illness. Even the reform through labor camp where I served time had a record of my illness, because I did not go out with my team to do heavy work because I had to stay in for medical treatment. The Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau became aware of my illness long ago when it interrogated me. The interrogators often asked about my illness when they talked with me. They knew very well that I was sick. Yet the Public Security Bureau still wanted to build a case against me on this simple mistake. It was clear the Public Security Bureau was bent on taking advantage of everything, no matter how trivial, to pin me down.

In conclusion, the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau had no right to label me for "disrupting stability and unit" unless the law said so. If I had not violated the law, then what I had done was for the sake of stability and unity, and it would be slanderous to accuse me of disrupting stability and unity. I would have been guilty of disrupting stability and unity if I had violated the law. The law, not the word of the Public Security Bureau, should have been the basis for deciding whether or not I had disrupted stability and unity.

Looking back, I see a long shadow cast by Yu Luohe, Zhang Zhixin, Ma Mianchen, Shi Yunfeng... who were deprived of the right to live for doing what I did, while I am "mercifully" committed to only 3 years of reeducation through labor. I am touched by a bit of painful irony. As long as history marches on, the blood of heroes is not shed in vain....

Looking ahead, I see our nation burdened with the weight of history, entangled in a web of conflicting interests, and pulled backward by conservative forces. After all, history still needs people like Yu Luohe and Zhang Zhixin. Heavyhearted, I realized life and blood are essential to fuel the onward march of history, but I cannot help feeling distressed.

Finally, I want to say something to the Beijing Municipal Public Security Bureau and the law enforcement agencies. I write this letter to bring charges against you in the social court of justice. If you find my charges do not agree with the facts and that they are false accusations, you may exercise your official authority, and I am ready to appear in court at an open trial to defend my rights and interests and the democratic rights of the people. Of course, the trial must really be open to the public. Otherwise, you could, as you have already done, resort to force instead of law. At any rate, I am a bird caught in your net, and you may handle me as you want.

Let me tell you something else. The fact that I appealed to the social court of justice instead of waiting to be judged by an enlightened official does not mean that I believe there is no enlightened official in China, but that even if I could run into an upright enlightened official after years of arduous pursuit, you could still come out unscathed and arrogant. The most you have to do is to write a report, but you have "disciplined" me harshly for years. Your brutality and meanness should never remain unpunished. I am sure the social court of justice would bring you down with justice. (End of text)

Notes:

(1) The "Xingxing Art Exhibition" was organized by a group of young artists in their spare time. Their works had won the approval of the Beijing Municipal Art Association, but they had difficulty in finding an exhibition hall. Finally, they put on the exhibition on 27 September in a part across the street from the east side of the "China Museum of Art." The Beijing public security authority came the following day and raided the place.

(2) Reeducation through labor is for "wrongdoers," while reform through labor is for "criminals."

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CCP SAID PLANNING TO MERGE GOVERNMENT BODIES, CUT REDUNDANT CADRES

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 52, 1 Feb 82 pp 58-60

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "What Will The Chinese Government Administrative Reform Be Like?"]

[Excerpt] The Origin of the Expansion of Organizations

In the initial period of the CCP's founding of its state, the Chinese communists needed to rely heavily on the democratic parties. Therefore, the First CPPCC passed the "organizational Law of the Central People's Government." Afterward, with the carrying out of the "three-anti," "five-anti," and socialist reform movements, not much attention was paid to democratic figures. When in 1954, the First NPC passed the constitution, the original government organization law lost its force. From this time on, the government was organized completely on the basis of the acts of will of the CCP leadership. Although on the surface the setting up of and changes in the State Council's ministries, commissions, and directly subordinate organizations had to be approved by the NPC Standing Committee, and the head of each ministry and commission was also appointed by the NPC Standing Committee, this was a mere formality. The real decisions were made by the party's Politburo, the Standing Committee of the Politburo, and even the party's chairman. With the advent of the "Cultural Revolution," even this little formality was dispensed with and everything was in a state of lawlessness. After the "gang of four's" fall from power, although the pre-Cultural Revolution method was restored, because the redistribution and recomposition of power has been complicated and frequent in recent years, the organizations have become more filled with redundant personnel, so that even the period of the gang of four was too inferior in this respect to bear comparison.

Some of this organizational expansion stems from an unnecessary division of work. For example, why can't the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation be incorporated into the Ministry of Agriculture? (Even the Ministry of Forestry could be merged with the Ministry of Agriculture to form a Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.) Why is there a Chinese Academy of Sciences and also a State Scientific and Technological Commission? Why are there so many ministries of machine building connected with national defense and also a National Defense Industry Office subordinate to the State Council? Why is there a Ministry of Finance and a Ministry of Foreign Trade, and also

a Finance and Trade Group subordinate to the State Council? Why is there an Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs subordinate to the State Council and also an Office of Hong Kong and Macao Affairs subordinate to the State Council? These are only a few of the examples that could be cited and are provided only to make people think.

Another prominent manifestation of organizational expansion is the appearance of "commissions" within organizations. These "commissions" were mostly set up on the basis of the focal points of the party's policies. In the 1950's, the Chinese communists stressed capital construction and so they set up the State Capital Construction Commission, when actually all capital construction could have been administered by the relevant ministries. For example, iron and steel capital construction could have been administered by the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and petroleum capital construction could have been administered by the Ministry of Petroleum Industry. But in the eyes of the CCP leaders, if the various ministries administered capital construction it would not be emphasized and there had to be concentrated unified leadership. With a vice premier personally taking command he would be on a higher level than a ministry, and so the State Capital Construction Commission was set up. On the same principle, the promotion of new agricultural policies has been stressed in recent years and the State Agricultural Commission has been set up, so that the Ministry of Agriculture actually has no responsibility whatsoever for the promotion of new agricultural policies. In addition, in order to stress the energy problem, they set up the State Energy Commission, when in reality the energy problem principally belongs to the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the Ministry of Coal Industry. Most chaotic are the departments concerned with opening the economy to foreign countries. In order to stress the introduction of foreign capital and technology, the State Council has gone so far as to add additional organizations, setting up the Foreign Investment Control Commission, the Import/Export Commission, and the Ministry of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. The needless duplications are too numerous to mention.

In all fairness, some of the hugeness of State Council's organizations cannot be avoided, but there should be no disorder. The reason for this bigness is that the State Council controls and manages the affairs of the entire country and is all-embracing. To truly simplify, the central concentration of power must be abandoned and power at the center transferred to lower levels, letting the localities practice autonomy. In this way, there would be no need for the central government to spend too much energy on managing the affairs of localities and enterprises, and it would only have to manage affairs concerning the entire country and affairs concerning relations with foreign countries. Then one could truly speak about simplification.

However, under the system of centralized concentration of power, if you are given free rein to cut down and merge, at best you can only cut down, merge, or abolish a few organizations that overlap too much. In reality, "if you cut down in the east there will be expansion in the west." The idea behind the present reform plan is to abolish the State Capital Construction Commission, and it is said that its functions will be absorbed by the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission. In that case these

two commissions are bound to be expanded in order to accommodate the work and staff of the abolished commission.

The Reason for the Many Redundant Deputies

The expansion in the number of redundant personnel is, admittedly, connected with the expansion in the number of organizations, but it is certainly not purely caused by this latter expansion; it is mainly connected with the system of concentrating power at the top as well as with the overlapping of the distribution of power in recent years.

Why does China have over a dozen vice premiers? This is extremely rare in the world.

As a rule, there can be direct communication between the premier and the ministers. For important matters between various ministries, a meeting of ministers can be convened to handle them, or a joint meeting on national affairs between the premier and the ministers can be convened to handle them. In the early period after Russia's October Revolution, the soviet government set up by Lenin was a fairly democratic organization. The ministries were called "people's committees"...and they practiced the committee system, democratic discussions, and collective leadership; the joint meetings of all the people's committees was called a comment and appraisal conference of the people's committees, similar to what in the West is a cabinet meeting between the premier and his ministers. However, China's State Council does not stress democracy, only centralism. It conducts no state conferences, and each vice premier separately commands several ministries. The State Council has 50-odd ministries and commissions and 40-odd subordinate organizations, so that over a dozen vice premiers are needed to exercise command. This method of dividing up the work and assigning a part to each vice premier, as a matter of fact, is in keeping with the actual power seized by each group within the CCP.

The above-mentioned situation gives rise to the following bad examples. One vice minister commands several departments, and one deputy department director commands several offices. Power is drawn upward layer by layer so that one vice premier takes over the apportioned share of power of several ministers, one vice minister takes over the apportioned share of the power of several department directors, and one deputy department director takes over the apportioned power of several office directors. From this is created a particularly strange phenomenon that affects the posts of deputies in China's administrative system!

"Sequelae" to the Redressing of Mishandled Cases

This strange phenomenon is one of the reasons for the creation of many deputy posts. However, the excessive number of deputy posts has gone to such lengths as to be beyond reason. For example, there are as many as 28 vice ministers in the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry, and within the ministry where are this many departments for them to command? Obviously, the proliferation of deputy posts has now far outstripped the requirement to concentrate power at the top.

Then, how did the excessive number of deputy posts come about? Tracing this phenomenon to its source, we find that, in the main, it was caused by the redressing of unjust, false, and mistaken law cases. Although the State Council is an enormous structure with over 100 subordinate organizations, the chief positions in these organizations have consistently been filled. With regard to the redressing of unjust, false, and mistaken cases, there is the loophole of an unwritten rule, viz, all people whose cases have been redressed must be restored to their original official posts. If the original posts are already filled they must be assigned to deputy posts, so that they are assigned to deputy posts commensurate with their official grades. By redressing a person and assigning him to a deputy post, every ministry comes to have over 10 or over 20 vice ministers. Reckoning the State Council as a whole, the total number of vice ministers is close to 1,000, truly a plethora of deputies! As for how many department directors and office directors there are, I do not have reliable data at hand. I would expect that there are 10 times the number of vice ministers.

Once there are so many deputy posts, the distance travelled on official business will naturally be lengthened and administrative efficiency still become lower and lower; it is not improbable that there are attempts to advance many personal interests out of selfish motives and mutual wrangling.... This situation not only obtains among personnel who hold the posts of deputies; it has already almost become a common bureaucratic failing of the CCP. The excessive number of deputies only adds even more bureaucratic abuses.

There is one prominent phenomenon among deputies, viz, to hold down their jobs without doing a stroke of work. This is because most of those who have been assigned to posts as deputies after their cases had been redressed are advanced in years, weak in body, and suffer from many ills. Even if they want to work, natural conditions prevent them from going to their offices and handling affairs. Usually, they should retire early, but they are not willing to do so, because once they retire they not only lose all of their own prerogatives as officials, but even their children and grandchildren frequently lose many opportunities for personal advancement because of their loss of official prerogatives. Power is the armor for themselves and the shield for their children and grandchildren. This is the infallible law of a society based on power.

The redundant personnel I am now talking about are mainly the deputies, especially those who don't do a stroke of work. In addition, there are some other redundant personnel who have emerged after the redressing of cases, only their positions are not as high as deputies. Most of these people have been assigned to vacant posts in various ministries and commissions. Some of them are also old and sick and cannot go to work. The redundant personnel whose power is great both waste administrative funds and delay government affairs, and they are a drag on the improvement of administrative efficiency.

The redressing of cases was originally a manifestation of the benevolent rule of the reform faction, and who would have thought that this benevolent rule would have produced a "sequelae" in the administrative departments.

The Method of Preferential Resignation and Retirement

To solve this "sequelae" problem originally should not have been too difficult. The difficulties here involved the problem caused by the redressing of cases and also the cadre problem. The CCP's handling of the cadre problem was circumspect, and this circumspection reached a degree of being conservative (with the exception of Mao Zedong's handling of the problem during the "Cultural Revolution"), because the CCP recognized that its political power was sustained by the cadres: without the cadres there would be no Communist Party. Therefore, the CCP, no matter what, maintained the high-level appointment system for government officials, gave the cadres many special privileges, and promoted but never demoted them (with the exception of those who had committed particularly gross errors), and in the past consistently maintained the system of lifetime tenure for them.

In recent years, because the problem of cadres' aging has become more and more serious, the reform faction came up with a proposal to abolish the system of lifetime tenure (as a matter of fact, this system had never been stipulated in explicit terms but had all along only existed as an unwritten convention). In February 1980, the proposal was put in writing and passed by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. However, the abolishment of this system aroused deep resentment among the older high-level cadres, and the first to resist it was an old military commander-in-chief. This resistance represented the general attitude of high-ranking military officers and the attitude of many high officials in administrative organs who should retire but are unwilling to retire.

Therefore, the reform faction was forced to think up a set of methods for preferential resignation-retirement. Here, resignation means resigning for recuperation, and it is an intermediate mode between recuperating from illness and retirement. This was a product of racking their brains to the utmost! Those who leave office to recuperate from illness retain their posts, but those who resign to recuperate do not retain their posts, but they do retain all the political and livelihood privileges they enjoyed in their respective organizations and posts. Those who retire are considered to be separated from their organizations, and they only enjoy the treatment given to officials who have retired.

The specific article pertaining to the new method of resignation and retirement has not yet been officially announced, and perhaps it must await consideration by the Legal Commission, so that it can appear in coordination with the new administrative reform package, or perhaps....

No matter how it will appear, news leaked from various quarters has already given us the broad outline.

This year's 3 January issue of RENMIN RIBAO published a report that over 20,000 older cadres in Weifang Prefecture, Shandong, who had resigned for recuperation reasons or who had retired had received preferential treatment. This report suggests that, politically, these older cadres are treated like active cadres of their same grade in that they can participate in meetings

and hear reports, and that, with regard to their material livelihood, they are given special treatment in respect of medical and health care and, in particular, arrangements are made to solve their housing problems.

Synthesizing the materials from various quarters, we arrive at the following outline: 1) After cadres resign for reason of recuperation they continue to receive their full salaries, and after cadres retire they continue to draw 70 to 80 percent of their salaries (I don't know if it is true, as some news items say, that when cadres resign for a reason of recuperation or retire they are promoted one grade in terms of salary); 2) all cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or who retire fully maintain their formal political privileges, and those at the level of department and bureau head or higher are still authorized to read "internal" documents and take part in report meetings of their former grade, and when necessary they can still use special vehicles and each year are allowed to travel one time at public expenses; 3) the sons and daughters of cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or who retire are given priority in job transfers, promotion, promotion to cadre, and salary rises; and 4) the original residences of cadres who resign for reason of recuperation or retire are not changed.

Whether these pieces of news are completely accurate will be known after the method of resignation and retirement is publicly announced. However, we can now affirm the following point: the CCP reform faction hopes to obtain, in exchange for some preferential treatment, the resignation or retirement of certain redundant older cadres, and this is an indubitable fact. This is perhaps a "policy of buying out," i.e., exchanging the retention of privileges for the retirement of redundant personnel from their official positions.

If it is truly a "buy-out" this is because there is no alternative under the existing CCP system, but, in the final analysis, it is not a normal method. The normal method would be, by considering the system in a fundamental way, to eliminate the bureaucratic system, abolish the cadres' special privileges, set up a social welfare system, and integrate the retirement of officials with the people's old age pension system.

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